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EDINBURGH EDITION

THE WORKS OF
THOMAS CARLYLE
IN THIRTY VOLUMES

VOL. VIII

CROMWELL'S LETTERS AND SPEECHES

III

Sir Thomas Fairfax?

THOMAS CARLYLE

OLIVER CROMWELL'S LETTERS AND SPEECHES

WITH ELUCIDATIONS

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOLUME III

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PART SEVENTH

THE LITTLE PARLIAMENT

1651-1653

LETTERS CLXXXIV—CLXXXVIII

THE LITTLE PARLIAMENT

BETWEEN Worcester Battle on the 3d of September 1651, and the Dismissal of the Long Parliament on the 20th of April 1653, are Nineteen very important months in the History of Oliver, which, in all our Books and Historical rubbish-records, lie as nearly as possible dark and vacant for us. Poor Dryasdust has emitted, and still emits, volumes of confused noise on the subject; but in the way of information or illumination, of light in regard to any fact, physiognomic feature, event or fraction of an event, as good as nothing whatever. Indeed, onwards from this point where Oliver's own Letters begin to fail us, the whole History of Oliver, and of England under him, becomes very dim;—swimming most indistinct in the huge Tomes of *Thurloe* and the like, as in shoreless lakes of ditchwater and bilgewater; a stagnancy, a torpor, and confused horror to the human soul! No historical genius, not even a Rushworth's, now presides over the matter: nothing but bilgewater *Correspondences*; vague jottings of a dull fat Bulstrode; vague printed babblements of this and the other Carrion Heath, or Flunky Pamphleteer of the Blessed-Restoration Period, writing from ignorant rumour and for

ignorant rumour, from the winds and to the winds. After long reading in very many Books, of very unspeakable quality, earning for yourself only incredibility, inconceivability, and darkness visible, you begin to perceive that in the Speeches of Oliver himself once well read, such as they are, some shadowy outlines, authentic prefigurements of what the real History of the Time may have been, do first, in the huge inane night, begin to loom forth for you,—credible, conceivable in some measure, there for the first time. My reader's patience is henceforth to be still more severely tried: there is unluckily no help for it, as matters stand.

Great lakes of watery *Correspondence* relating to the History of this Period, as we intimate, survive in print; and new are occasionally issued upon mankind:[1] but the essence of them has never yet in the smallest been elaborated by any man;—will require a succession and assiduous series of many men to elaborate it. To pluck-up the great History of Oliver from it, like drowned Honour by the locks; and show it to much-wondering and, in the end, right-thankful England! The richest and noblest thing England hitherto has. The basis England will have to start from again, if England is ever to struggle Godward again, instead of struggling Devilward, and Mammonward merely. Serene element of Cant has been tried now for two Centuries; and fails. Serene element, general completed life-atmosphere, of Cant religious, Cant moral, Cant political, Cant universal, where England vainly hoped to live in a serene soft-spoken manner,—England now finds herself on the point of choking there; large masses of her People no longer able to get even potatoes in that serene element. England will have to come out of that; England, too terribly awakened at last, is everywhere preparing to come out of that. England, her Amazon-eyes once more flashing strange Heaven's-light, like Phœbus Apollo's fatal to the

[1] Thurloe's *State-Papers*, Milton's, Clarendon's, Ormond's, Sidney's, etc. etc. are old and very watery; new and still waterier are Vaughan's *Protectorate*, and others not even worth naming here.

Pythian mud-serpents, will lift her hand, I think, and her heart, and swear 'By the Eternal, I will not die in that! I had once men who knew better than that!'— —

But with regard to the History of Oliver, as we were saying, for those Nineteen months there is almost no light to be communicated at present. Of Oliver's own uttering, I have found only Five Letters, short, insignificant, connected with no phasis of Public Transactions: there are Two Dialogues recorded by Whitlocke, of dubious authenticity; certain small splinters of Occurrences not pointing very decisively anywhither, sprinkling like dust of stars the dark vacancy: these, and Dryasdust's vociferous commentaries new and old;—and of discovered or discoverable, nothing more. Oliver's own *Speech*, which the reader is by and by to hear, casts backwards some straggling gleams; well accordant, as is usual, with whatever else we know: and worthy to be well believed and meditated by Historical readers, among others. Out of these poor elements the candid imagination must endeavour to shape some not inconceivable scheme and genesis of this very indubitable Fact, the Dismissal of the Long Parliament, as best it may. Perhaps if Dryasdust were once well gagged, and his vociferous commentaries all well forgotten, such a feat might not be very impossible for mankind!—

Concerning this Residue, Fag-end, or 'Rump' as it had now got nicknamed, of the Long Parliament, into whose hands the Government of England had been put, we have hitherto, ever since the King's Death-Warrant, said almost nothing: and in fact there was not much to be said. 'Statesmen of the Commonwealth' so-called: there wanted not among them men of real mark; brave men, of much talent, of true resolution, and nobleness of aim: but though their title was chief in this Commonwealth, all men may see their real function in it has been subaltern all along. Not in St. Stephen's and its votings and debatings, but in the battle-field, in Oliver Cromwell's fightings, has the destiny of this Commonwealth decided itself. One unsuccessful Battle, at

Preston or at any time since, had probably wrecked it;—one stray bullet hitting the life of a certain man had soon ended this Commonwealth. Parliament, Council of State, they sat like diligent Committees of Ways and Means, in a very wise and provident manner: but the soul of the Commonwealth was at Dunbar, at Worcester, at Tredah: Destiny, there questioned, 'Life or Death for this Commonwealth?' has answered, 'Life yet for a time!'—That is a fact which the candid imagination will have to keep steadily in view.

And now, if we practically ask ourselves, What is to become of this small junto of men, somewhat above a Hundred in all,[1] hardly above Half-a-hundred the active part of them, who now sit in the chair of authority? the shaping-out of any answer will give rise to considerations. These men have been raised thither by miraculous interpositions of Providence; they may be said to sit there only by a continuance of the like. They cannot sit there forever. They are not Kings by birth, these men; nor in any of them have I discovered qualities as of a very indisputable King by attainment. Of dull Bulstrode, with his lumbering law-pedantries, and stagnant official self-satisfactions, I do not speak; nor of dusky tough St. John, whose abstruse fanaticisms, crabbed logics, and dark ambitions, issue all, as was very natural, in 'decided avarice' at last:—not of these. Harry Marten is a tight little fellow, though of somewhat loose life: his witty words pierce yet, as light-arrows, through the thick oblivious torpor of the generations; testifying to us very clearly, Here was a right hard-headed, stout-hearted little man, full of sharp fire and cheerful light; sworn foe of Cant in all its figures; an indomitable little Roman Pagan if no better:—but Harry is not quite one's King either; it would have been difficult

[1] One notices division-numbers as high as 121, and occasionally lower than even 40. Godwin (iii. 121), 'by careful scrutiny of the Journals,' has found that the utmost number of all that had still the right to come 'could not be less than 150.'

to be altogether loyal to Harry! Doubtful too, I think, whether without great effort you could have worshipped even the Younger Vane. A man of endless virtues, says Dryasdust, who is much taken with him, and of endless intellect;—but you must not very specially ask, How or where? Vane was the Friend of Milton: that is almost the only answer that can now be given. A man, one rather finds, of light fibre, this Sir Harry Vane. Grant all manner of purity and elevation; subtle high discourse; much intellectual and practical dexterity: there is an amiable, devoutly zealous, very pretty man;—but not a royal man; alas, no! On the whole, rather a thin man. Whom it is even important to keep strictly subaltern. Whose tendency towards the Abstract, or Temporary-Theoretic, is irresistible; whose hold of the Concrete, in which lies always the Perennial, is by no means that of a giant, or born Practical King;—whose 'astonishing subtlety of intellect' conducts him not to new clearness, but to ever new abstruseness, wheel within wheel, depth under depth; marvellous temporary empire of the air,—wholly vanished now, and without meaning to any mortal. My erudite friend, the astonishing intellect that occupies itself in splitting hairs, and not in twisting some kind of cordage and effectual draught-tackle to take the road with, is not to me the most astonishing of intellects! And if, as is probable, it get into narrow fanaticisms; become irrecognisant of the Perennial because not dressed in the fashionable Temporary; become self-secluded, atrabiliar, and perhaps shrill-voiced and spasmodic,—what can you do but get away from it, with a prayer, 'The Lord deliver me from thee!' I cannot do with *thee*. I want twisted cordage, steady pulling, and a peaceable bass tone of voice: not split hairs, hysterical spasmodics, and treble! Thou amiable, subtle, elevated individual, the Lord deliver me from thee!

These men cannot continue Kings forever; nor in fact did they in the least design such a thing; only they find a terrible difficulty in getting abdicated. Difficulty very conceivable to

us. Some weeks after Pride's Purge, which may be called the constituting of this remnant of members into a Parliament and Authority, there had been presented to it, by Fairfax and the Army, what we should now call a Bentham-Sieyes Constitution, what was then called an 'Agreement of the People,'[1] which might well be imperative on honourable members sitting there; whereby it was stipulated for one thing, That this present Parliament should dissolve itself, and give place to another 'equal Representative of the People,'—in some three months hence; on the 30th of April, namely. The last day of April 1649: this Parliament was then to have its work finished, and go its ways, giving place to another. Such was our hope.

They did accordingly pass a vote to that effect; fully intending to fulfil the same: but, alas, it was found impossible. How summon a new Parliament, while the Commonwealth is still fighting for its existence? All we can do is to resolve ourselves into Grand Committee, and consider about it. After much consideration, all we can decide is, That we shall go weekly into Grand Committee, and consider farther. Duly every Wednesday we consider, for the space of eleven months and odd; find, more and more, that it is a thing of some considerableness! In brief, when my Lord General returns to us from Worcester, on the 16th of September 1651, no advance whatever towards a dissolution of ourselves has yet been made. The Wednesday Grand Committees had become a thing like the meeting of Roman augurs, difficult to go through with complete gravity; and so, after the eleventh month, have silently fallen into desuetude. We sit here very immovable. We are scornfully called the Rump of a Parliament by certain people; but we have an invincible Oliver to fight for us: we can afford to wait here, and consider to all lengths; and by one name we shall smell as sweet as by another.

I have only to add at present, that on the morrow of my Lord General's reappearance in Parliament, this sleeping

[1] *Commons Journals*, 20th January 1648-9: some six weeks after the Purge; ten days before the King's Death.

question was resuscitated;[1] new activity infused into it; some show of progress made; nay, at the end of three months, after much labour and struggle, it was got decided, by a neck-and-neck division,[2] That the present *is* a fit time for fixing a limit beyond which this Parliament shall not sit. Fix a limit therefore; give us the *non-plus-ultra* of you. Next Parliament-day we do fix a limit, Three years hence, 3d November 1654; three years of rope still left us: a somewhat wide limit; which, under conceivable contingencies, may perhaps be tightened a little. My honourable friends, you ought really to get on with despatch of this business; and know of a surety that not being, any of you, Kings by birth, nor very indubitably by attainment, you will actually have to go, and even in case of extremity to be shoved and sent!

LETTER CLXXXIV

At this point the law of dates requires that we introduce Letter Hundred-and-eighty-fourth; though it is as a mere mathematical point, marking its own whereabouts in Oliver's History; and imparts little or nothing that is new to us.

Reverend John Cotton is a man still held in some remembrance among our New-England friends. He had been Minister of Boston in Lincolnshire; carried the name across the Ocean with him; fixed it upon a new small Home he had found there,—which has become a large one since; the big busy Capital of Massachusetts, *Boston*, so called. *John Cotton his Mark*, very curiously stamped on the face of this Planet; likely to continue for some time!——For the rest, a painful Preacher, oracular of high Gospels to New England; who in his day was well seen to be connected with the Supreme Powers of this Universe, the word of him being as a live-coal to the hearts of many. He died some years afterwards;—

[1] *Commons Journals*, 17th September 1651.

[2] 49 to 47; *Commons Journals*, 14th November 1651: 'Lord General and Lord Chief Justice.' Cromwell and St. John, are Tellers for the Yea.

was thought, especially on his deathbed, to have manifested gifts even of Prophecy,[1]—a thing not inconceivable to the human mind that well considers Prophecy and John Cotton.

We should say farther, that the Parliament, that Oliver among and before them, had taken solemn anxious thought concerning Propagating of the Gospel in New England; and, among other measures, passed an Act to that end;[2] not unworthy of attention, were our hurry less. In fact, there are traceable various small threads of relation, interesting reciprocities and mutualities, connecting the poor young Infant, New England, with its old Puritan Mother and her affairs, in those years. Which ought to be disentangled, to be made conspicuous and beautiful, by the Infant herself now that she has grown big; the busy old Mother having had to shove them, with so much else of the like, hastily out of her way for the present!—However, it is not in reference to this of Propagating the Gospel in New England; it is in congratulation on the late high Actings, and glorious Appearances of Providence in Old England, that Cotton has been addressing Oliver: introduced to him, as appears, by some small mediate or direct acquaintanceship, old or new;—founding too on their general relationship as Soldier of the Gospel, and Priest of the Gospel, high brother and humble one; appointed, both of them, to fight for it to the death, each with such weapons as were given him. The Letter of Cotton, with due details, is to be seen in Hutchinson's *Collection*.[3] The date is 'Boston in New England, 28th of Fifth' (*Fifth Month*, or *July*), '1651': the substance, full of piety and loyalty, like that of hundreds of others, must not concern us here,—except these few interesting words, upon certain of our poor old Dunbar friends: 'The Scots whom God delivered into your hands at Dunbar,' says Cotton, 'and whereof sundry were sent hither,—we have been desirous, as we could to make their yoke easy. Such as were sick of the scurvy, or other diseases,

[1] Thurloe, i. 565;—in 1653. [2] Scobell (27th July 1649), ii. 66.
[3] *Papers relative to the History of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1769), p. 236.

have not wanted physic and chirurgery. They have not been sold for Slaves, to *perpetual* servitude; but for six, or seven, or eight years, as we do our own. And he that bought the most of them, I hear, buildeth Houses for them, for every Four a House; and layeth some acres of ground thereto, which he giveth them as their own, requiring them three days in the week to work for him by turns, and four days for themselves; and promiseth, as soon as they can repay him the money he laid out for them, he will set them at liberty.' Which really is a mild arrangement, much preferable to Durham Cathedral and the raw cabbages at Morpeth; and may turn to good for the poor fellows, if they can behave themselves!—

FOR MY ESTEEMED FRIEND MR. COTTON, PASTOR OF THE CHURCH AT BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND: THESE

"London," 2d October 1651.

Worthy Sir, and my Christian Friend,—I received yours a few days since. It was welcome to me because signed by you, whom I love and honour in the Lord: but more "so" to see some of the same grounds of our Actings stirring in you that are in us, to quiet us to our work, and support us therein. Which hath had the greatest difficulty in our engagement in Scotland; by reason we have had to do with some who were, I verily think, Godly, but, through weakness and the subtlety of Satan, "were" involved in Interests against the Lord and His People.

With what tenderness we have proceeded with such, and that in sincerity, our Papers (which I suppose you have seen) will in part manifest; and I give you some comfortable assurance of "the same." The Lord hath marvellously appeared even against them.[1] *And now again when all the power was devolved into the Scottish King and the Malignant Party,—they invading England, the Lord rained upon them such snares*

[1] From Preston downward.

as the Enclosed[1] *will show. Only the Narrative in short is this, That of their whole Army, when the Narrative was framed, not five men were returned.*

Surely, Sir, the Lord is greatly to be feared and to be praised! We need your prayers in this as much as ever. How shall we behave ourselves after such mercies? What is the Lord a-doing? What Prophecies are now fulfilling?[2] *Who is a God like ours? To know His will, to do His will, are both of Him.*

I took this liberty from business, to salute you thus in a word. Truly I am ready to serve you and the rest of our Brethren and the Churches with you. I am a poor weak creature, and not worthy the name of a worm; yet accepted to serve the Lord and His People. Indeed, my dear Friend, between you and me, you know not me,—my weaknesses, my inordinate passions, my unskilfulness, and everyway unfitness to my work. Yet, yet the Lord, who will have mercy on whom he will, does as you see! Pray for me. Salute all Christian friends though unknown. I rest, your affectionate friend to serve you,

*OLIVER CROMWELL.**

About this time, for there is no date to it but an evidently vague and erroneous one, was held the famous Conference of Grandees, called by request of Cromwell; of which Bulstrode has given record. Conference held 'one day' at Speaker Lenthall's house in Chancery Lane, to decide among the leading Grandees of the Parliament and Army, How this Nation *is* to be settled,—the Long Parliament having now resolved on actually dismissing itself by and by. The question is really complex: one would gladly know what the leading

[1] Doubtless the Official Narrative of Worcester Battle; published about a week ago, as Preamble to the Act appointing a Day of Thanksgiving; 26th September 1651; reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 59-65.

[2] See Psalm Hundred-and-tenth.

* Harris, p. 518; Birch's Original,—copied in Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 4156, § 70.

Grandees did think of it; even what they found good to say upon it! Unhappily our learned Bulstrode's report of this Conference is very dim, very languid: nay Bulstrode, as we have found elsewhere, has a kind of dramaturgic turn in him, indeed an occasional poetic friskiness; most unexpected, as if the hippopotamus should show a tendency to dance;—which painfully deducts from one's confidence in Bulstrode's entire accuracy on such occasions! Here and there the multitudinous Paper Masses of learned Bulstrode do seem to smack a little of the date when he redacted them,—posterior to the Ever-blessed Restoration, not prior to it. We shall, nevertheless, excerpt this dramaturgic Report of Conference: the reader will be willing to examine with his own eyes, even as in a glass darkly, any feature of that time; and he can remember always that a learned Bulstrode's fat terrene mind imaging a heroic Cromwell and his affairs is a very dark glass indeed!

The Speakers in this Conference, — Desborow, Oliver's Brother-in-law; Whalley, Oliver's Cousin; fanatical Harrison, tough St. John, my learned Lord Keeper or Commissioner Whitlocke himself,—are mostly known to us. Learned Widdrington, the mellifluous orator, once Lord Commissioner too, and like to be again, though at present 'excused from it owing to scruples,' will by and by become better known to us. A mellifluous, unhealthy, seemingly somewhat scrupulous and timorous man.[1] He is of the race of that Widdrington whom we still lament in doleful dumps,—but does not fight upon the stumps like him. There were 'many other Gentlemen,' who merely listened.

'Upon the defeat at Worcester,' says Bulstrode vaguely,[2] 'Cromwell desired a Meeting with divers Members of Parliament, and some chief Officers of the Army, at the Speaker's house. And a great many being there, he proposed to them, That now the old King being dead, and his Son being de-

[1] Wood, *in voce*.

[2] Whitlocke, p. 491; the date, 10th December 1651, is that of the Paper merely, and as applied to the Conference itself cannot be correct.

feated, he held it necessary to come to a Settlement of the Nation. And in order thereunto, had requested this Meeting; that they together might consider and advise, What was fit to be done, and to be presented to the Parliament.

'SPEAKER. My Lord, this Company were very ready to attend your Excellence, and the business you are pleased to propound to us is very necessary to be considered. God hath given marvellous success to our Forces under your command; and if we do not improve these mercies to some Settlement, such as may be to God's honour, and the good of this Commonwealth, we shall be very much blameworthy.

'HARRISON. I think that which my Lord General hath propounded, is, To advise as to a Settlement both of our Civil and Spiritual Liberties; and so, that the mercies which the Lord hath given-in to us may not be cast away. How this may be done is the great question.

'WHITLOCKE. It is a great question indeed, and not suddenly to be resolved! Yet it were pity that a meeting of so many able and worthy persons as I see here, should be fruitless.—I should humbly offer, in the first place, Whether it be not requisite to be understood in what way this Settlement is desired? Whether of an absolute Republic, or with any mixture of Monarchy.

'CROMWELL. My Lord Commissioner Whitlocke hath put us upon the right point: and indeed it is my meaning, that we should consider, Whether a Republic or a mixed Monarchical Government will be best to be settled? And if anything Monarchical, then, In whom that power shall be placed?

'SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON. I think a mixed Monarchical Government will be most suitable to the Laws and People of this Nation. And if any Monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just to place that power in one of the Sons of the late King.

'COLONEL FLEETWOOD. I think that the question, Whether an absolute Republic, or a mixed Monarchy, be best to be settled in this Nation, will not be very easy to be determined!

'LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE ST. JOHN. It will be found, that the Government of this Nation, without something of Monarchical power, will be very difficult to be so settled as not to shake the foundation of our Laws, and the Liberties of the People.

'SPEAKER. It will breed a strange confusion to settle a Government of this Nation without something of Monarchy.

'COLONEL DESBOROW. I beseech you, my Lord, why may not this, as well as other Nations, be governed in the way of a Republic?

'WHITLOCKE. The Laws of England are so interwoven with the power and practice of Monarchy, that to settle a Government without something of Monarchy in it, would make so great an alteration in the Proceedings of our Law, that you will scarce have time[1] to rectify it, nor can we well foresee the inconveniences which will arise thereby.

'COLONEL WHALLEY. I do not well understand matters of Law: but it seems to me the best way, Not to have anything of Monarchical power in the Settlement of our Government. And if we should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon? The King's Eldest Son hath been in arms against us, and his Second Son[2] likewise is our enemy.

'SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON. But the late King's Third Son, the Duke of Gloucester, is still among us; and too young to have been in arms against us, or infected with the principles of our enemies.

'WHITLOCKE. There may be a day given for the King's Eldest Son,[3] or for the Duke of York his Brother, to come-in to the Parliament. And upon such terms as shall be thought

[1] Between this and November 1654.

[2] James; who has fled to the Continent some time ago, 'in women's clothes,' with one Colonel Bamfield, and is getting fast into Papistry and other confusions.

[3] Charles Stuart: 'a day' for him, upon whose *head* there was, not many weeks ago, a Reward of 1000*l.*? Did you actually *say* this, my learned friend? Or merely strive to think, and redact, at an after-period, that you had said it,—that you had thought it, meant to say it, which was virtually all the same, in a case of difficulty!

fit, and agreeable both to our Civil and Spiritual liberties, a Settlement may be made with them.

'CROMWELL. That will be a business of more than ordinary difficulty! But really I think, if it may be done with safety, and preservation of our Rights, both as Englishmen and as Christians, That a Settlement with somewhat of Monarchical power in it would be very effectual.'

Much other discourse there was, says my learned friend;—but amounting to little. The Lawyers all for a mixed Government, with something of Monarchy in it; tending to call in one of the King's Sons,—I especially tending that way; secretly loyal in the worst of times. The Soldiers, again, were all for a Republic; thinking they had had enough of the King and his Sons. My Lord General always checked that secret-loyalty of mine, and put-off the discussion of the King's Son; yet did not declare himself for a Republic either;—was indeed, as my terrene fat mind came at length to image him, merely 'fishing for men's opinions,' and for provender to himself and his appetites, as I in the like case should have been doing!—The Conference broke up, with what of 'fish' in this kind my Lord General had taken, and no other result arrived at.

Many Conferences held by my Lord General have broken-up so. Four years ago, he ended one in King Street by playfully 'flinging a cushion' at a certain solid head of our acquaintance, and running down-stairs.[1] Here too it became ultimately clear to the solid head that he had been 'fishing.' Alas, a Lord General has many Conferences to hold; and in terrene minds, ligneous, oleaginous, and other, images himself in a very strange manner!——The candid imagination, busy to shape-out some conceivable Oliver in these Nineteen months, will accept thankfully the following small indubitabilities, or glimpses of definite events.

December 8th, 1651. In the beginning of December (Whitlocke dates it 8th December) came heavy tidings over

[1] Ludlow, i. 240.

from Ireland, dark and heavy in the house of Oliver especially: that Deputy Ireton, worn-out with sleepless Irish services, had caught an inflammatory fever, and suddenly died. Fell sick on the 16th of November 1651; died, at Limerick, on the 26th.[1] The reader remembers Bridget Ireton, the young wife at Cornbury·[2] she is now Widow Ireton; a sorrowful bereaved woman. One brave heart and subtle-working brain has ended: to the regret of all the brave. A man able with his pen and his sword; 'very stiff in his ways.'

Dryasdust, who much loves the brave Ireton in a rather blind way, intimates that Ireton's 'stern virtue' would probably have held Cromwell in awe; that had Ireton lived, there had probably been no sacrilege against the Constitution on Oliver's part. A probability of almost no weight, my erudite friend. The 'stern virtue' of Ireton was not sterner on occasion than that of Oliver; the probabilities of Ireton's disapproving what Oliver did, in the case alluded to, are very small, resting on solid Ludlow mainly; and as to those of Ireton's holding Cromwell 'in awe,' in this or in any matter he had himself decided to do, I think we may safely reckon them at zero, my erudite friend!

Lambert, now in Scotland, was appointed Deputy in Ireton's room; and meant to go; but did not. Some say the Widow Ireton, irritated that the beautiful and showy Lady Lambert should *already* 'take precedence of her in St. James's Park,' frustrated the scheme: what we find certain is, That Lambert did not go, that Fleetwood went; and farther, that the Widow Ireton in due time became Wife of the Widower Fleetwood: the rest hangs vague in the head of zealous Mrs. Hutchinson, solid Ludlow, and empty Rumour.[3] Ludlow, already on the spot, does the Irish duties in the interim. Ireton has solemn Public Funeral in England;

[1] Wood, iii. 300; Whitlocke, p. 491.—Letter (Oliver to his Sister) in Appendix, No. 23. [2] Letter XLI. vol. i. p. 253; and vol. ii. p. 224.

[3] Hutchinson's *Memoirs* (London, 1806), p. 195; Ludlow, pp. 414, 449, 450, etc.

copious moneys settled on his Widow and Family; all honours paid to him, for his own sake and his Father-in-law's.

March 25th, 1652. Above two years ago, when this Rump Parliament was in the flush of youthful vigour, it decided on reforming the Laws of England, and appointed a working Committee for that object, our learned friend Bulstrode one of them. Which working Committee finding the job heavy, gradually languished; and after some Acts for having Law-proceedings transacted in the English tongue, and for other improvements of the like magnitude, died into comfortable sleep. On my Lord General's return from Worcester, it had been poked-up again; and, now rubbing its eyes, set to work in good earnest; got a subsidiary Committee appointed, of Twenty-one persons not members of this House at all, To say and suggest what improvements were really wanted: such improvements they the working Committee would then, with all the readiness in life, effectuate and introduce in the shape of specific Acts. Accordingly, on March 25th, first day of the new year 1652, learned Bulstrode, in the name of this working Committee, reports that the subsidiary Committee has suggested a variety of things: among others, some improvement in our method of Transferring Property,—of enabling poor John Doe, who finds at present a terrible difficulty in doing it, to inform Richard Roe, 'I John Doe do, in very fact, sell to thee Richard Roe, such and such a Property,—according to the usual human meaning of the word *sell*; and it is hereby, let me again assure thee, indisputably SOLD to thee Richard, by me John': which, my learned friend thinks, might really be an improvement. To which end he will introduce an Act: nay there shall farther be an Act for the 'Registry of Deeds in each County,'—if it please Heaven. 'Neglect to register your Sale of Land in this promised County-Register within a given time,' enacts the learned Bulstrode, 'such Sale shall be void. Be exact in registering it, the Land shall not be subject to any in-

cumbrance.' Incumbrance: yes, but what is 'incumbrance'? asks all the working Committee, with wide eyes, when they come actually to sit upon this Bill of Registry, and to hatch it into some kind of perfection: What is 'incumbrance'? No mortal can tell. They sit debating it, painfully sifting it, 'for three months';[1] three months by Booker's Almanac, and the Zodiac Horologe: March violets have become June roses; and still they debate what 'incumbrance' is;—and indeed, I think could never fix it at all; and are perhaps debating it, if so doomed, in some twilight foggy section of Dante's Nether World, to all Eternity, at this hour!—Are not these a set of men likely to reform English Law? Likely these to strip the accumulated owl-droppings and foul guano-mountains from your rock-island, and lay the reality bare,—in the course of Eternities! The wish waxes livelier in Colonel Pride that he could see a certain addition made to the Scots Colours hung in Westminster Hall yonder.

I add only, for the sake of Chronology, that on the fourth day after this appearance of Bulstrode as a Law-reformer, occurred the famous *Black Monday*; fearfulest eclipse of the Sun ever seen by mankind. Came on about nine in the morning; darker and darker: ploughmen unyoked their teams, stars came out, birds sorrowfully chirping took to roost, men in amazement to prayers: a day of much obscurity; *Black Monday*, or *Mirk Monday*, 29th March 1652.[2] Much noised of by Lilly, Booker, and the buzzard Astrologer tribe. Betokening somewhat? Belike that Bulstrode and this Parliament will, in the way of Law-reform and otherwise, make a Practical Gospel, or real Reign of God, in this England?—

July 9th, 1652. A great external fact, which, no doubt, has its effect on all internal movements, is the War with the Dutch. The Dutch, ever since our Death-Warrant to Charles First, have looked askance at this New Commonwealth, which

[1] Ludlow, i. 430; *Parliamentary History*, xx. 84; *Commons Journals*, vii. 67, 110, etc.

[2] Balfour, iv. 349; Law's *Memorials*, p. 6

wished to stand well with them; and have accumulated offence on offence against it. Ambassador Dorislaus was assassinated in their country; Charles Second was entertained there; evasive slow answers were given to tough St. John, who went over as new Ambassador: to which St. John responding with great directness, in a proud, brief and very emphatic manner, took his leave, and came home again. Came home again; and passed the celebrated Navigation Act,[1] forbidding that any goods should be imported into England except either in English ships or in ships of the country where the goods were produced. Thereby terribly maiming the 'Carrying Trade of the Dutch'; and indeed, as the issue proved, depressing the Dutch Maritime Interest not a little, and proportionally elevating that of England. Embassies in consequence, from their irritated High Mightinesses; sea-fightings in consequence; and much negotiating, apologising, and bickering mounting ever higher;—which at length, at the date above given, issues in declared War. Dutch War: cannonadings and fierce sea-fights in the narrow seas; land-soldiers drafted to fight on ship-board; and land-officers, Blake, Dean, Monk, who became very famous sea-officers; Blake a thrice-famous one;—poor Dean lost his life in this business. They doggedly beat the Dutch, and again beat them: their best Van Tromps and De Ruyters could not stand these terrible Puritan Sailors and Gunners. The Dutch gradually grew tame. The public mind, occupied with sea-fights and sea-victories, finds again that the New Representative must be patiently waited for; that this is not a time for turning-out the old Representative, which has so many affairs on its hands.

But the Dutch War brings another consequence in the train of it: renewed severity against Delinquents. The necessities of cash for this War are great: indeed the grand business of Parliament at present seems to be that of Finance, —finding of sinews for such a War. Any remnants of Royal

[1] Introduced 5th August 1651; passed 9th October 1651: given in Scobell, ii. 176.

lands, of Dean-and-Chapter lands,—sell them by rigorous auction; the very lead of the Cathedrals one is tempted to sell; nay almost the Cathedrals themselves,[1] if any one would buy them. The necessities of the Finance Department are extreme. Money, money: our Blakes and Monks, in deadly wrestle with the Dutch, must have money!

Estates of Delinquents, one of the readiest resources from of old, cannot, in these circumstances, be forgotten. Search out Delinquents: in every County make stringent inquest after them! Many, in past years, have made light settlements with lax Committee-men; neighbours, not without pity for them. Many of minor sort have been overlooked altogether. Bring them up, every Delinquent of them; up hither to the Rhadamanthus-bar of Goldsmiths' Hall and Haberdashers' Hall; sift them, search them; riddle the last due sixpence out of them. The Commons Journals of these months have formidable ell-long Lists of Delinquents; List after List; who shall, on rigorous terms, be ordered to compound. Poor unknown Royalist Squires, from various quarters of England; whose names and surnames excite now no notion in us except that of No. 1 and No. 2: my Lord General has seen them 'crowding by thirties and forties in a morning'[2] about these Haberdasher-Grocer Halls of Doom, with haggard expression of countenance; soliciting, from what austere official person they can get a word of, if not mercy, yet at least swift judgment. In a way which affected my Lord General's feelings. We have now the third year of Peace in our borders: is this what you call Settlement of the Nation?

LETTER CLXXXV

The following Letter 'to my honoured Friend Mr. Hungerford the Elder,' which at any rate by order of time introduces itself here, has probably some reference to these

[1] *Parliamentary History*, xx. 90.

[2] Speech, postea.

Committee businesses:—at all events, there hangs by it a little tale.

Some six miles from Bath, in the direction towards Salisbury, are to be seen, 'on the northeast slope of a rocky height called Farley Hill,' the ruins of an old Castle, once well known by the name of *Farley Montfort* or *Farley Hungerford*: Mansion once of the honourable Family of Hungerfords, while there was such a Family. The Hungerfords are extinct above a century ago; and their Mansion stands there as a Ruin, knowing little of them any more. But it chanced, long since, before the Ruin became quite roofless, some Land-Steward or Agent of a new Family, tapping and poking among the melancholy lumber there,—found 'an old loose Chest' shoved loosely 'under the old Chapel-altar'; and bethought him of opening the same. Masses of damp dust; unclean accumulation of beetle-and-spider exuviæ, to the conceivable amount: under these, certain bundles of rubbish-papers, extinct lease-records, marriage-contracts, all extinct now,—among which, however, were Two Letters bearing Oliver Cromwell's signature. These Two the Land-Steward carefully copied,—thanks to him;—and here, out of *Collinson's History of Somersetshire*, the first of them now is. Very dark to the Land-Steward, to Collinson, and to us. For the Hungerfords are extinct; their Name and Family, like their old Mansion, a mouldering ruin, —almost our chief light in regard to it, the Two little bits of Paper, rescued from the old Chest under the Chapel-altar, in that romantic manner!—

There were three Hungerfords in Parliament; all for Wiltshire constituencies. Sir Edward, 'Knight of the Bath,' Puritan original Member for Chippenham; Lord of this Mansion of Farley, as we find:[1] then Henry, Esq., 'recruiter' for Bedwin since 1646; probably a cadet of the House, perhaps heir to it: both these are now 'secluded Members'; purged away by Pride; nay it seems Sir Edward was already

[1] Collinson (iii. 357 n.) gives his Epitaph copied from the old Chapel; but is very dark and even self-contradictory in what he says farther.

dead, about the time of Pride's Purge. The third, Anthony Hungerford, original Member for Malmesbury, declared for the King in 1642; was of course disabled, cast into the Tower when caught;—made his composition, by repentance and due fine, 'fine of 2,532*l.*,' in 1646,[1] when the First Civil War ended; and has lived ever since a quiet repentant man. He is of 'Blackbourton in Oxfordshire,' this Anthony; but I judge by his Parliamentary connexion and other circumstances, likewise a cadet of the House of Farley. Of him by and by, when we arrive at the next Letter.

For the present, with regard to Sir Edward, lord of the Farley Mansion, we have to report, by tremulous but authentic lights, that he stood true for the Parliament; had controversies, almost duels, in behalf of it; among other services, lent it 500*l.* Furthermore, that he is now dead, 'died in 1648'; and that his Widow cannot yet get payment of that 500*l.*; that she is yet only struggling to get a Committee to sit upon it.[2] One might guess, but nobody can know, that this Note was addressed to Henry Hungerford, in reference to that business of Sir Edward's Widow. Or possibly it may be Anthony Hungerford, the repentant Royalist, that is now the 'Elder Hungerford'; a man with whom the Lord General is not without relations? Unimportant to us, either way. A hasty Note, on some 'business' now unknown, about which an unknown 'gentleman' has been making inquiry and negotiation; for the answer to which an unknown 'servant' of some 'Mr. Hungerford the Elder' is waiting in the hall of Oliver's House,—the Cockpit, I believe, at this date:—in such faintly luminous state, revealing little save its own existence, must this small Document be left.

[1] *Commons Journals*, iv. 565 (5th June 1646); *ib.* iii. 526, etc.

[2] Committee got, 18th February 1652-3, 'the Lord General' Cromwell in it (*Commons Journals*, vii. 260): Danger of Duel (*ib.* ii. 928, 981; iii. 185, January—June 1643). See *ib.* iv. 161, v. 618, etc.

FOR MY HONOURED FRIEND MR. HUNGERFORD THE ELDER, AT HIS HOUSE: THESE

"London," 30th July 1652.

Sir,—I am very sorry my occasions will not permit me to return[1] *to you as I would. I have not yet fully spoken with the Gentleman I sent to wait upon you; when I shall do it, I shall be enabled to be more particular. Being unwilling to detain your servant any longer,—with my service to your Lady and Family, I take my leave, and rest, your affectionate servant,*

*OLIVER CROMWELL.**

It is a sad reflection with my Lord General, in this Hungerford and other businesses, that the mere justice of any matter will so little avail a man in Parliament: you can make no way till you have got-up some party on the subject there![2] In fact, red-tape has, to a lamentable extent, tied-up the souls of men in this Parliament of the Commonwealth of England. They are becoming hacks of office; a savour of Godliness still on their lips, but seemingly not much deeper with some of them. I begin to have a suspicion *they* are no Parliament! If the Commonwealth of England had not still her Army Parliament, rigorous devout Council of Officers, men in right life-and-death earnest, who have spent their blood in this Cause, who in case of need can assemble and act again,—what would become of the Commonwealth of England? Earnest persons, from this quarter and that, make petition to the Lord General and Officers, That they would be pleased to take the matter in hand, and see right done. To which the Lord General and Officers answer always: Wait, be patient; the Parliament itself will yet do it.

What the 'state of the Gospel in Wales' is, in Wales or

[1] reply.

* Collinson's *History of Somersetshire* (Bath, 1791), iii. 357 note.—See Appendix, No. 25.

[2] Speech, postea.

elsewhere, I cannot with any accuracy ascertain; but see well that this Parliament has shown no zeal that way; has shackled rather, and tied-up with its sorrowful red-tape the movements of men that had any zeal.[1] Lamentable enough. The light of the Everlasting Truth was kindled; and you do not fan the sacred flame, you consider *it* a thing which may be left to itself! Unhappy: and for what did we fight, then, and wrestle with our souls and our bodies as in strong agony; besieging Heaven with our prayers and Earth and its Strengths, from Naseby on to Worcester, with our pikes and cannon? Was it to put an Official Junto of some Threescore Persons into the high saddle in England; and say, Ride ye? They would need to be Threescore beautifuler men! Our blood shed like water, our brethren's bones whitening a hundred fields; Tredah Storm, Dunbar death-agony, and God's voice from the battle-whirlwind: did they mean no more but you! —My Lord General urges us always to be patient: Patience, the Parliament itself will yet do it. That is what we shall see!—

On the whole, it must be seriously owned by every reader, this present Fag-end of a Parliament of England has failed altogether to realise the high dream of those old Puritan hearts. 'Incumbrance,' it appears, cannot in the abstract be defined: but if you would know in the concrete what it is, look there! The thing we fought for, and gained as if by miracle, it is ours this long while, and yet not ours; within grasp of us, it lies there unattainable, enchanted under Parliamentary formulas. Enemies are swept away; extinguished as in the brightness of the Lord: and no Divine Kingdom, and no clear incipiency of such, has yet in any measure come!— These are sorrowful reflections.

For, alas, such high dream is difficult to realise! Not the Stuart Dynasty alone that opposes it; all the Dynasties of the Devil, the whole perversions of this poor Earth, without us and within us, oppose it.—Yea, answers with a sigh the

[1] Speech, postea.

heart of my Lord General: Yea, it is difficult, and thrice difficult;—and yet woe to us, if we do not with our whole soul try it, make some clear beginning of it; if we sit defining 'incumbrances,' instead of bending every muscle to the wheel that is incumbered! Who art thou that standest still; that having put-to thy hand, turnest back? In these years of miracle in England, were there not great things, as if by divine voices, audibly promised? 'The Lord said unto my Lord!'—And is it all to end here? In Juntos of Threescore; in Grocers-Hall Committees, in red-tape, and official shakings of the head?—

My Lord General, are there no voices, dumb voices from the depths of poor England's heart, that address themselves to you, even you? My Lord General hears voices; and would fain distinguish and discriminate them. Which, in all these, is the God's voice? That were the one to follow. My Lord General, I think, has many meditations, of a very mixed, and some of a very abstruse nature, in these months.

August 13*th*, 1652. This day came a 'Petition from the Officers of my Lord General's Army,' which a little alarmed us. Petition craving for some real reform of the Law; some real attempt towards setting-up a Gospel Ministry in England; real and general ousting of scandalous, incompetent and plainly diabolic persons from all offices of Church and State; real beginning, in short, of a Reign of Gospel Truth in this England;—and for one thing, a swift progress in that most slow-going Bill for a New Representative; an actual ending of this present Fag-end of a Parliament, which has now sat very long! So, in most respectful language, prays this Petition[1] of the Officers. Petition prefaced, they say, with earnest prayer to God: that was the preface or prologue they gave it;—what kind of epilogue they might be prepared to give it, one does not learn: but the men carry swords at their sides; and we have known them!—'Many thought this kind of Petition dangerous; and counselled my Lord General

[1] Whitlocke, p. 516.

to put a stop to the like: but he seemed to make light of it,' says Bulstrode. In fact, my Lord General does not disapprove of it: my Lord General, after much abstruse meditation, has decided on putting himself at the head of it. He, and a serious minority in Parliament, and in England at large, think with themselves, once more, if it were not for this Army Parliament, what would become of us?—Speaker Lenthall 'thanked' these Officers, with a smile which I think must have been of the grimmest, like that produced in certain animals by the act of eating thistles.

September 14*th*, 1652. The somnolent slow-going Bill for a New Representative, which has slept much, and now and then pretended to move a little, for long years past, is resuscitated by this Petition; comes out, rubbing its eyes, disposed for decided activity;—and in fact sleeps no more; cannot think of sleep any more, the noise round it waxing ever louder. Settle how your Representative shall be; for be it now actually must!

This Bill, which has slept and waked so long, does not sleep again: but, How to settle the conditions of the New Representative?—there is a question! My Lord General will have good security against 'the Presbyterial Party,' that they come not into power again; good security against the red-tape Party, that they sit not for three months defining an incumbrance again. How shall we settle the New Representative;—on the whole, what or how shall we do? For the old stagnancy is verily broken up: these petitioning Army Officers, with all the earnest armed and unarmed men of England in the rear of them, have verily torn us from our moorings; and we do go adrift,—with questionable havens, on starboard and larboard, very difficult of entrance; with Mahlstroms and Niagaras very patent right ahead! We are become to mankind a Rump Parliament; sit here we cannot much longer; and we know not what to do!

'During the month of October, some ten or twelve conferences took place,'—private conferences between the Army

Officers and the Leaders of the Parliament: wherein nothing could be agreed upon. Difficult to settle the New Representative; impossible for this Old Misrepresentative or Rump to continue! What shall or can be done? Summon, without popular intervention, by earnest selection on your and our part, a Body of godly wise Men, the Best and Wisest we can find in England; to them intrust the whole question; and do you abdicate, and depart straightway, say the Officers. Forty good Men, or a Hundred-and-Forty; choose them well, —they will define an incumbrance in less than three months, we may hope, and tell us what to do! Such is the notion of the Army Officers, and my Lord General; a kind of Puritan 'Convention of the Notables,' so the French would call it; to which the Parliament Party see insuperable objections. What other remedy, then? The Parliament Party mournfully insinuate that there is no remedy, except, —except continuance of the present Rump![1]

November 7th, 1652. 'About this time,' prior or posterior to it, while such conferences and abstruse considerations are in progress, my Lord General, walking once in St. James's Park, beckons the learned Bulstrode, who is also there; strolls gradually aside with him, and begins one of the most important Dialogues. Whereof learned Bulstrode has preserved some record; which is unfortunately much dimmed by just suspicion of dramaturgy on the part of Bulstrode; and shall not be excerpted by us here. It tends conspicuously to show, *first*, how Cromwell already entertained most alarming notions of 'making oneself a King,' and even wore them pinned on his sleeve, for the inspection of the learned; and *secondly*, how Bulstrode, a secret-royalist in the worst of times, advised him by no means to think of that, but to call-in Charles Stuart, —who had an immense popularity among the Powerful in England just then! 'My Lord General did not in words express any anger, but only by looks and carriage; and turned aside from me to other company,'—as this Editor, in quest

[1] Speech, postea.

of certainty and insight, and not of doubt and fat drowsy pedantry, will now also do!

LETTER CLXXXVI

HERE, from the old Chest of Farley Castle, is the other Hungerford Letter; and a dim glance into the domesticities again. *Anthony* Hungerford, as we saw, was the Royalist Hungerford, of Blackbourton in Oxfordshire; once Member for Malmesbury; who has been living these six or seven years past in a repentant wholesomely secluded state. 'Cousin Dunch' is young Mrs. Dunch of Pusey, once Ann Mayor of Hursley; she lives within visiting distance of Blackbourton, when at Pusey; does not forget old neighbours while in Town, —and occasionally hears gloomy observations from them. 'Your Lord General is become a great man now!'—From the Answer to which we gather at least one thing: That the 'offer of a very great Proposition' as to Son Richard's marriage, which we once obscurely heard of,[1] was, to all appearance, made by this Anthony Hungerford,—perhaps in behalf of his kinsman Sir Edward, who, as he had no Son,[2] might have a Daughter that would be a very great Proposition to a young man. Unluckily 'there was not that assurance of Godliness' that seemed to warrant it: however, the nobleness of the Overture is never to be forgotten.

FOR MY HONOURED FRIEND ANTHONY HUNGERFORD, ESQUIRE.
THESE

Cockpit, 10th December 1652.

Sir,—I understand, by my Cousin Dunch, of so much trouble of yours, and so much unhandsomeness (at least seeming so) on my part, as doth not a little afflict me, until I give you this account of my innocency.

She was pleased to tell my Wife of your often resorts to my

[1] Antea, vol. i. p. 300.

[2] Epitaph in *Collinson's Somersetshire.*

house to visit me, and of your disappointments. Truly, Sir, had I but once known of your being there, and 'had concealed myself,' it had been an action so below a gentleman or an honest man, so full of ingratitude for your civilities I have received from you, as would have rendered me unworthy of human society! Believe me, Sir, I am much ashamed that the least colour of the appearance of such a thing should have happened; and "I" could not take satisfaction but by this plain-dealing for my justification, which I ingenuously offer you. And although Providence did not dispose other matters to our mutual satisfaction, yet your nobleness in that Overture obligeth me, and I hope ever shall whilst I live, to study upon all occasions to approve myself your Family's and your most affectionate and humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

*My Wife and I desire our service be presented to your Lady and Family.**

LETTER CLXXXVII

SEEMINGLY belonging to the same neighbourhood is the following altogether domestic Letter to Fleetwood; which still survives in Autograph; but has no date whatever, and no indication that will enable us to fix its place with perfect exactness. Fleetwood's Commission for Ireland is dated 10th July 1652;[1] the precise date of his marriage with Bridget Ireton, of his departure for Ireland, or of any ulterior proceedings of his, is not recoverable, in those months. Of Henry Cromwell, too, we know only that he sat in the *Little Parliament*; and indisputably therefore, was home from Ireland before summer next. From the total silence as to Public Affairs, in this Letter, it may be inferred that nothing decisive had yet been done or resolved upon;—that through this

* Oliver Cromwell's *Memoirs of the Protector* (3d edition, London, 1822), ii. 488; see Collinson's *History of Somersetshire*, iii. 357 note.

[1] Thurloe, i. 212.

strange old Autograph, as through a dim Horn-Gate (not of Dreams but of Realities), we are looking into the interior of the Cromwell Lodging, and the Cromwell heart, in the Winter of 1652.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL FLEETWOOD, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FORCES IN IRELAND: THESE

"Cockpit, — — 1652."

Dear Charles,—I thank you for your loving Letter. The same hopes and desires, upon your planting into my Family, were much the same in me that you express in yours towards me. However, the dispensation of the Lord is, to have it otherwise for the present; and therein I desire to acquiesce;—not being out of hope that it may lie in His good pleasure, in His time, to give us the mutual comfort of our relation: the want whereof He is able abundantly to supply by His own presence; which indeed makes-up all defects, and is the comfort of all our comforts and enjoyments.

Salute your dear Wife from me. Bid her beware of a bondage *spirit.*[1] *Fear is the natural issue of such a spirit;—the antidote is Love. The voice of Fear is: If I had done this; if I had avoided that, how well it had been with me!—I know this hath been her vain reasoning: "poor Biddy!"*

Love argueth in this wise: What a Christ have I; what a Father in and through Him! What a Name hath my Father: Merciful, gracious, long-suffering, abundant in goodness and truth; forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin. *What a Nature hath my Father:* He is LOVE;—*free in it, unchangeable, infinite! What a Covenant between Him and Christ,—for all the Seed, for every one: wherein He undertakes all, and the poor Soul nothing. The New Covenant is* Grace,—*to or upon the Soul; to which it, "the Soul," is passive and receptive:*

[1] A Secretary has written hitherto; the Lord General now begins, himself, with a new pen.

I 'll do away their sins; I 'll write my Law, etc.; I 'll put it in their hearts: they shall never depart from me, etc.[1]

This commends the Love of God: it 's Christ dying for men without *strength, for men whilst sinners, whilst enemies. And shall we seek for the root of our comforts within us,—What God hath done, what He is to us in Christ, is the root of our comfort: in this is stability; in us is weakness. Acts of obedience are not perfect, and therefore yield not perfect Grace. Faith, as an act, yields it not; but "only" as it carries us into Him, who is our perfect rest and peace; in whom we are accounted of, and received by, the Father,—even as Christ Himself. This is our high calling. Rest we here, and here only.*[2]

Commend me to Harry Cromwell: I pray for him. That he may thrive, and improve in the knowledge and love of Christ. Commend me to all the Officers. My prayers indeed are daily for them. Wish them to beware of bitterness of spirit; and of all things uncomely for the Gospel. The Lord give you abundance of wisdom, and faith and patience. Take heed also of your natural inclination to compliance.

Pray for me. I commit you to the Lord; and rest, your loving father, OLIVER CROMWELL.[3]

*The Boy and Betty are very well. Show what kindness you well may to Colonel Clayton, to my nephew Gregory, to Claypole's Brother.**

And so the miraculous Horn-Gate, not of Dreams but of

[1] Has been crowding, for the last line or two, very close upon the bottom of the page; finds now that it will not do; and takes to the margin.

[2] Even so, my noble one! The noble soul will, one day, again come to understand these old words of yours.

[3] Has exhausted the long broad margin; inverts now, and writes atop.

* Ayscough MSS. no. 4165, f. 1. On the inner or blank leaf of this curious old Sheet are neatly pasted two square tiny bits of Paper: on one of them, 'Fairfax' in autograph; on the other these words, 'God blesse the now Lord Protector'; and crosswise, 'Marquis Worcester writt it';—concerning which Marquis, once 'Lord Herbert,' see vol. ii. p. 298.

Realities and old dim Domesticities, closes again, into totally opaque;—and we return to matters public.

December 1652—*March* 1653. The Dutch War prospers and has prospered, Blake and Monk beating the Dutch in tough seafights; Delinquents, monthly Assessments, and the lead of Cathedrals furnishing the sinews: the Dutch are about sending Ambassadors to treat of Peace. With home affairs, again, it goes not so well. Through winter, through spring, that Bill for a new Representative goes along in its slow gestation; reappearing Wednesday after Wednesday; painfully struggling to take a shape that shall fit both parties, Parliament Grandees and Army Grandees both at once. A thing difficult; a thing impossible! Parliament Grandees, now become a contemptible Rump, wish they could grow into a Reputable Full Parliament again, and have the Government and the Governing Persons go on as they are now doing; this naturally is their wish. Naturally too the Army Party's wish is the reverse of this: that a Full free Parliament, with safety to the Godly Interests, and due subordination of the Presbyterian and other factions, should assemble; but also that the present Governing Persons, with their red-tape habits unable to define an incumbrance in three months, should for most part be out of it. Impossible to shape a Bill that will fit both of these Parties: Tom Thumb and the Irish Giant, you cannot, by the art of Parliamentary tailoring, clip out a coat that will fit them both! We can fancy 'conferences,' considerations deep and almost awful; my Lord General looking forward to possibilities that fill even him with fear. Puritan Notables they will not have; these present Governing men are clear against that: not Puritan Notables;—and if they themselves, by this new Bill or otherwise, insist on staying there, what is to become of them?

Dryasdust laments that this invaluable Bill, now in process of gestation, is altogether lost to Posterity; no copy even of itself, much less any record of the conferences, debates, or con-

temporaneous considerations on it, attainable even in fractions by mankind. Much is lost, my erudite friend;—and we must console ourselves! The substantial essence of the Bill came out afterwards into full practice, in Oliver's own Parliaments. The present form of the Bill, I do clearly perceive, had one clause, That all the Members of this present Rump should continue to sit without reëlection; and still better, another, That they should be a general Election Committee, and have power to say to every new Member, 'Thou art dangerous, thou shalt not enter; go!' This clearly in the Bill: and not less clearly that the Lord General and Army Party would in no wise have a Bill with this in it,—or indeed have any Bill that was to be the old story over again under a new name. So much, on good evidence, is very clear to me;—the rest, which is all obliterated, becomes not inconceivable. Cost what it may cost, this Rump Parliament, which has by its conduct abundantly 'defined what an incumbrance is,' shall go about its business. Terrible Voices, supernal and other, have said it, awfully enough, in the hearts of some men! Neither under its own shabby figure, nor under another more plausible, shall *it* guide the Divine Mercies and Miraculous Affairs of this Nation any farther.

The last of all the conferences was held at my Lord General's house in Whitehall, on Tuesday evening, 19th of April 1653. Above twenty leading Members of Parliament present, and many Officers. Conference of which we shall have some passing glimpse, from a sure hand, by and by.[1] Conference which came to nothing, as all the others had done. Your Bill, with these clauses and visible tendencies in it, cannot pass, says the one party: Your Scheme of Puritan Notables seems full of danger, says the other. What remedy? 'No remedy except, —except that you leave us to sit as we are, for a while yet!' suggest the Official persons.—'In no wise!' answer the Officers, with a vehemence of look and tone, which my Lord General, seemingly anxious to do it, cannot repress. You must not,

[1] Speech, postea; see also Whitlocke, p. 529.

and cannot sit longer, say the Officers;—and their look says even, Shall not! Bulstrode went home to Chelsea, very late, with the tears in his big dull eyes, at thought of the courses men were getting into. Bulstrode and Widdrington were the most eager for sitting; Chief-Justice St. John, strange thing in a Constitutional gentleman, declared that there could be no sitting for us any longer. We parted, able to settle on nothing, except the engagement to meet here again tomorrow morning, and to leave the Bill asleep till something were settled on. 'A leading person,' Sir Harry Vane or another, undertook that nothing should be done in it till then.

Wednesday 20th April 1653. My Lord General accordingly is in his reception-room this morning, 'in plain black clothes and gray worsted stockings'; he, with many Officers: but few Members have yet come, though punctual Bulstrode and certain others are there. Some waiting there is; some impatience that the Members would come. The Members do not come: instead of Members, comes a notice that they are busy getting-on with their Bill in the House, hurrying it double-quick through all the stages. Possible? New message that it will be Law in a little while, if no interposition take place! Bulstrode hastens off to the House: my Lord General, at first incredulous, does now also hasten off,—nay orders that a Company of Musketeers of his own regiment attend him. Hastens off, with a very high expression of countenance, I think;—saying or feeling: Who would have believed it of them? 'It is not honest; yea, it is contrary to common honesty!'—My Lord General, the big hour is come!

Young Colonel Sidney, the celebrated Algernon, sat in the House this morning; a House of some Fifty-three.[1] Algernon has left distinct note of the affair; less distinct we have from Bulstrode, who was also there, who seems in some points to be even wilfully wrong. Solid Ludlow was far off in Ireland, but gathered many details in after-years; and faithfully wrote them

[1] That is Cromwell's number; Ludlow, far distant, and not credible on this occasion, says 'Eighty or a Hundred.'

down, in the unappeasable indignation of his heart. Combining these three originals, we have, after various perusals and collations and considerations, obtained the following authentic, moderately conceivable account:[1]

'The Parliament sitting as usual, and being in debate upon the Bill with the amendments, which it was thought would have been passed that day, the Lord General Cromwell came into the House, clad in plain black clothes and gray worsted stockings, and sat down, as he used to do, in an ordinary place.' For some time he listens to this interesting debate on the Bill; beckoning once to Harrison, who came over to him, and answered dubitatingly. Whereupon the Lord General sat still, for about a quarter of an hour longer. But now the question being to be put, That this Bill do now pass, he beckons again to Harrison, says, '"This is the time; I must do it!"'—and so 'rose up, put off his hat, and spake. At the first, and for a good while, he spake to the commendation of the Parliament for their pains and care of the public good; but afterwards he changed his style, told them of their injustice, delays of justice, self-interest, and other faults,'—rising higher and higher, into a very aggravated style indeed. An honourable Member, Sir Peter Wentworth by name, not known to my readers, and by me better known than trusted, rises to order, as we phrase it; says, 'It is a strange language this; unusual within the walls of Parliament this! And from a trusted servant too; and one whom we have so highly honoured; and one'— '"Come, come!"' exclaims my Lord General in a very high key, 'we have had enough of this,'—and in fact my Lord General now blazing all up into clear conflagration, exclaims, '"I will put an end to your prating,"' and steps forth into the floor of the House, and 'clapping-on his hat,' and occasionally 'stamping the floor with his feet,' begins a discourse which no man can report! He says—Heavens! he is heard saying: '"It is not fit that you should sit here any longer!"

[1] Blencowe's *Sidney Papers* (London, 1825), pp. 139-41; Whitlocke, p. 529; Ludlow, ii. 456;—the last two are reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 128

You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing lately. "You shall now give place to better men!—Call them in!"' adds he briefly, to Harrison, in word of command: and 'some twenty or thirty' grim musketeers enter, with bullets in their snaphances; grimly prompt for orders; and stand in some attitude of Carry-arms there. Veteran men: men of might and men of war, their faces are as the faces of lions, and their feet are swift as the roes upon the mountains;—not beautiful to honourable gentlemen at this moment!

'You call yourselves a Parliament,' continues my Lord General in clear blaze of conflagration: '"You are no Parliament; I say you are no Parliament! Some of you are drunkards,"' and his eye flashes on poor Mr. Chaloner, an official man of some value, addicted to the bottle; '"some of you are ——"' and he glares into Harry Marten, and the poor Sir Peter who rose to order, lewd livers both; 'living in open contempt of God's Commandments. Following your own greedy appetites, and the Devil's Commandments. "Corrupt unjust persons,"' and here I think he glanced 'at Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke, one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, giving him and others very sharp language, though he named them not': '"Corrupt unjust persons; scandalous to the profession of the Gospel": how can you be a Parliament for God's People? Depart, I say; and let us have done with you. In the name of God,—go!'

The House is of course all on its feet,—uncertain almost whether not on its head: such a scene as was never seen before in any House of Commons. History reports with a shudder that my Lord General, lifting the sacred Mace itself, said, '"What shall we do with this bauble? Take it away!"'—and gave it to a musketeer. And now,—'Fetch him down!' says he to Harrison, flashing on the Speaker. Speaker Lenthall, more an ancient Roman than anything else, declares, He will not come till forced. 'Sir,' said Harrison, 'I will lend you a hand'; on which Speaker Lenthall came down, and gloomily vanished. They all vanished; flooding

gloomily, clamorously out, to their ulterior businesses and respective places of abode: the Long Parliament is dissolved! '"It's you that have forced me to this"' exclaims my Lord General: '"I have sought the Lord night and day, that He would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work."' 'At their going out, some say the Lord General said to young Sir Harry Vane, calling him by his name, That *he* might have prevented this; but that he was a juggler, and had not common honesty.' '"Oh, Sir Harry Vane," thou with thy subtle casuistries and abstruse hair-splittings, thou art other than a good one, I think! "The Lord deliver me from thee, Sir Harry Vane!"' 'All being gone out, the door of the House was locked, and the Key with the Mace, as I heard, was carried away by Colonel Otley';—and it is all over, and the unspeakable Catastrophe has come, and remains.

Such was the destructive wrath of my Lord General Cromwell against the Nominal Rump Parliament of England. Wrath which innumerable mortals since have accounted extremely diabolic; which some now begin to account partly divine. Divine or diabolic, it is an indisputable fact; left for the commentaries of men. The Rump Parliament has gone its ways;—and truly, except it be in their own, I know not in what eyes are tears at their departure. They went very softly, softly as a Dream, say all witnesses. 'We did not hear a dog bark at their going!' asserts my Lord General elsewhere.

It is said, my Lord General did not, on his entrance into the House, contemplate quite as a certainty this strong measure; but it came upon him like an irresistible impulse, or inspiration, as he heard their Parliamentary eloquence proceed. 'Perceiving the spirit of God so strong upon me, I would no longer consult flesh and blood.'[1] He has done it,

[1] Godwin, iii. 456 (who cites Echard; not much of an authority in such matters).

at all events; and is responsible for the results it may have. A responsibility which he, as well as most of us, knows to be awful: but he fancies it was in answer to the English Nation, and to the Maker of the English Nation and of him; and he will do the best he may with it.

LETTER CLXXXVIII

We have to add here an Official Letter, of small significance in itself, but curious for its date, the Saturday after this great Transaction, and for the other indications it gives. Except the Lord General, 'Commander-in-Chief of all the Forces raised and to be raised,' there is for the moment no Authority very clearly on foot in England;—though Judges, and all manner of Authorities whatsoever do, after some little preliminary parleying, consent to go on as before.

The Draining of the Fens had been resumed under better auspices when the War ended;[1] and a new Company of Adventurers, among whom Oliver himself is one, are vigorously proceeding with a New Bedford Level,—the same that yet continues. A 'Petition' of theirs, addressed 'To the Lord General,' in these hasty hours, sets forth that upon the '20th of this instant April' (exactly while Oliver was turning out the Parliament), 'about a Hundred-and-fifty persons,' from the Towns of Swaffham and Botsham,—which Towns had petitioned about certain rights of theirs, and got clear promise of redress in fit time,—did 'tumultuously assemble,' to seek redress for themselves; did 'by force expel your Petitioners' workmen from their diking and working in the said Fens'; did tumble-in again 'the dikes by them made'; and in fine did peremptorily signify that if they or any other came again to dike in these Fens, it would be worse for them. 'The evil effects of which'—are very apparent indeed. Whereupon this Official Letter, or Warrant; written doubtless in the press of much other business.

[1] Act for that object (Scobell, ii. 33), 29th May 1649.

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"TO MR. PARKER, AGENT FOR THE COMPANY OF ADVENTURERS FOR DRAINING THE GREAT LEVEL OF THE FENS."

"Whitehall," 23d April 1653.

Mr. Parker,—I hear some unruly persons have lately committed great outrages in Cambridgeshire, about Swaffham and Botsham, in throwing-down the works making by the Adventurers, and menacing those they employ thereabout. Wherefore I desire you to send one of my Troops, with a Captain, who may by all means persuade the people to quiet, by letting them know, They must not riotously do anything, for that must not be suffered: but "that" if there be any wrong done by the Adventurers,—upon complaint, such course shall be taken as appertains to justice, and right will be done. I rest, your loving friend,

*OLIVER CROMWELL.**

The *Declaration of the Lord General and his Council of Officers*,[1] which came out on the Friday following the grand Catastrophe, does not seem to be of Oliver's composition: it is a Narrative of calm pious tone, of considerable length; promises, as a second Declaration still more explicitly does,[2] a Real Assembly of the Puritan Notables;—and, on the whole, can be imagined by the reader; nay we shall hear the entire substance of it from Oliver's own mouth, before long. These Declarations and other details we omit. Conceive that all manner of Authorities, with or without some little preambling, agree to go on as heretofore; that adherences arrive from Land-Generals and Sea-Generals by return of post; that the old Council of State having vanished with its Mother, a new Interim Council of State, with 'Oliver Cromwell, Captain General,' at the head of it, answers equally well; in a word,

* From the Records of the Fen Office, in Sergeants' Inn, London; communicated, with other Papers relating thereto, by Samuel Wells, Esq.

[1] 22d April, *Cromwelliana* p. 120. [2] 30th April, *Ibid.* p. 122.

that all people are looking eagerly forward to those same 'Known Persons, Men fearing God, and of approved Integrity,' who are now to be got together from all quarters of England, to say what *shall* be done with this Commonwealth,—whom there is now no Fag-end of a corrupt Parliament to prevent just men from choosing with their best ability. Conceive all this; and read the following

'SUMMONS

'TO ——— ———

'FORASMUCH as, upon the dissolution of the late Parliament, it became necessary that the peace, safety and good government of this Commonwealth should be provided for: And in order thereunto, divers Persons fearing God, and of approved Fidelity and Honesty, are, by myself with the advice of my Council of Officers, nominated; to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed: And having good assurance of your love to, and courage for, God and the interest of His Cause, and "that" of the good People of this Commonwealth:

'I, Oliver Cromwell, Captain General and Commander-in-chief of all the Armies and Forces raised and to be raised within this Commonwealth, do hereby summon and require You,——— ———, being one of the Persons nominated,—Personally to be and appear at the Council-Chamber, commonly known or called by the name of the Council-Chamber at Whitehall, within the City of Westminster, upon the Fourth day of July next ensuing the date hereof; Then and there to take upon you the said Trust; unto which you are hereby called, and appointed to serve as a Member for the County of———. And hereof you are not to fail.

'Given under my hand and seal the 6th day of June 1653. OLIVER CROMWELL.'*

* Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 125).

SPEECH FIRST

A HUNDRED-AND-FORTY of these Summonses were issued; and of all the Parties so summoned, 'only two' did not attend. Disconsolate Bulstrode says, 'Many of this Assembly being persons of fortune and knowledge, it was much wondered-at by some that they would, at this Summons, and from such hands, take upon them the Supreme Authority of this Nation: considering how little right Cromwell and his Officers had to give it, or those Gentlemen to take it.'[1] My disconsolate friend, it is a sign that Puritan England in general accepts this action of Cromwell and his Officers, and thanks them for it, in such a case of extremity; saying as audibly as the means permitted: Yea, we did wish it so! Rather mournful to the disconsolate official mind!—Lord Clarendon again, writing with much latitude, has characterised this Convention as containing in it 'divers Gentlemen who had estates, and such a proportion of credit' in the world as might give some colour to the business; but consisting, on the whole, of a very miserable beggarly sort of persons, acquainted with nothing but the art of praying; 'artificers of the meanest trades,' if they even had any trade:—all which the reader shall, if he please, add to the general *guano*-mountains, and pass on not regarding.

The undeniable fact is, these men were, as Whitlocke intimates, a quite reputable Assembly: got together by anxious 'consultation of the godly Clergy' and chief Puritan lights in their respective Counties; not without much earnest revision, and solemn consideration in all kinds, on the part of men adequate enough for such a work, and desirous enough to do it well. The List of the Assembly exists;[2] not yet entirely gone dark for mankind. A fair proportion of them still recognisable to mankind. Actual Peers one or two: founders

[1] Whitlocke, p. 534.

[2] *Somers Tracts*, i. 216.

of Peerage Families two or three, which still exist among us,—Colonel Edward Montague, Colonel Charles Howard, Anthony Ashley Cooper. And, better than King's Peers, certain Peers of Nature; whom if not the King and his pasteboard Norroys have had the luck to make Peers of, the living heart of England has since raised to the Peerage, and means to keep there,—Colonel Robert Blake the Sea-King, for one. 'Known persons,' I do think; 'of approved integrity, men fearing God'; and perhaps not entirely destitute of sense any one of them! Truly it seems rather a distinguished Parliament,—even though Mr. Praisegod Barbone, 'the Leather-merchant in Fleet-street,' be, as all mortals must admit, a member of it. The fault, I hope, is forgivable! Praisegod, though he deals in leather, and has a name which can be misspelt, one discerns to be the son of pious parents; to be himself a man of piety, of understanding and weight,—and even of considerable private capital, my witty flunky friends! We will leave Praisegod to do the best he can, I think.—And old Francis Rouse is there from Devonshire; once member for Truro; Provost of Eton College; whom by and by they make Speaker;—whose Psalms the Northern Kirks still sing. Richard Mayor of Hursley is there, and even idle Dick Norton; Alexander Jaffray of Aberdeen, Laird Swinton of the College of Justice in Edinburgh; Alderman Ireton, brother of the late Lord Deputy, colleague of Praisegod in London. In fact, a real Assembly of the Notables in Puritan England; a Parliament, *Parliamentum*, or real *Speaking-Apparatus* for the now dominant Interest in England, as exact as could well be got,—much more exact, I suppose, than any ballot-box, free hustings or ale-barrel election usually yields.

Such is the Assembly called the Little Parliament, and wittily *Barebones's Parliament*; which meets on the 4th of July. Their witty name survives; but their history is gone all dark; and no man, for the present, has in his head or in his heart the faintest intimation of what they did, or what they aimed to do. They are very dark to us; and will never

be illuminated much! Here is one glance of them face to face; here in this Speech of Oliver's,—if we can read it, and listen along with them to it. There is this one glance; and for six generations, we may say, in the English mind there has not been another.

Listening from a distance of two Centuries, across the Death-chasms and howling kingdoms of Decay, it is not easy to catch everything! But let us faithfully do the best we can. Having once packed Dryasdust, and his unedifying cries of 'Nonsense! Mere hypocrisy! Ambitious dupery!' etc. etc., about his business; closed him safe under hatches, and got silence established,—we shall perhaps hear a word or two; have a real glimpse or two of things long vanished; and *see* for moments this fabulous Barebones's Parliament itself, standing dim in the heart of the extinct Centuries, as a recognisable fact, once flesh and blood, now air and memory; not untragical to us!

Read this first, from the old Newspapers; and then the Speech itself, which a laborious Editor has, with all industry, copied and corrected from Two Contemporaneous Reports by different hands, and various editions of these. Note, however: The *Italic* sentences in brackets, most part of which, and yet perhaps not enough of which I have suppressed, are evidently by an altogether modern hand!

'*July 4th*, 1653. This being the day appointed, by the Letters of Summons from his Excellency the Lord General, for the meeting of the Persons called to the Supreme Authority, there came about a Hundred-and-twenty of them to the Council-Chamber in Whitehall. After each person had given-in a Ticket of his Name, they all entered the room, and sat down in chairs appointed for them, round about the table. Then his Excellency the Lord General, standing by the window opposite to the middle of the table, and as many of the Officers of the Army as the room could well contain, some on his right hand, and others on his left, and about him,—made the following Speech to the Assembly:'

'GENTLEMEN,—I suppose the Summons that hath been 'instrumental to bring you hither gives you well to under-'stand the occasion of your being here. Howbeit, I have 'something farther to impart to you, which is an Instrument 'drawn-up by the consent and advice of the principal Officers 'of the Army; which is a little (as we conceive) more signifi-'cant than the Letter of the Summons. We have that here 'to tender you; and somewhat likewise to say farther for 'our own exoneration;[1] which we hope may be somewhat 'farther for your satisfaction. And withal seeing you sit 'here somewhat uneasily by reason of the scantness of the 'room and heat of the weather, I shall contract myself with 'respect thereunto.

'We have not thought it amiss a little to remind you of 'that Series of Providences wherein the Lord hath appeared, 'dispensing wonderful things to these Nations from the 'beginning of our Troubles to this very day.

'If I should look much backward, we might remind you 'of the state of affairs as they were before the Short, that is 'the last, Parliament,—in what posture the things of this 'Nation then stood: but they do so well, I presume, occur 'to all your memories and knowledge, that I shall not need 'to look so far backward. Nor yet to those hostile occasions 'which arose between the King that was and the Parliament[2] 'that then followed. And indeed, should I begin much later, 'the things that would fall very necessarily before you, would 'rather be for a History than for a verbal Discourse at this 'present.

'But thus far we may look back. You very well know, 'it pleased God, much about the midst of this War, to win 'now (if I may so say) the Forces of this Nation;[3] and to

[1] 'exoneration' does not here mean 'excuse' or 'shifting-away of blame,' but mere laying-down of office with due form.

[2] The Long Parliament.

[3] Self-denying Ordinance; beginning of 1645: see vol. i. p. 193 et seq.

'put them into the hands of other men of other principles 'than those that did engage at the first. By what ways and 'means that was brought about, would ask more time than 'is allotted me to mind you of it. Indeed, there are Stories 'that do recite those Transactions, and give you narratives 'of matters of fact: but those things wherein the life and 'power of them lay; those strange windings and turnings 'of Providence; those very great appearances of God, in 'crossing and thwarting the purposes of men, that He might 'raise up a poor and contemptible company of men,[1] neither 'versed in military affairs, nor having much natural propensity 'to them, "into wonderful success—"! Simply by their 'owning a Principle of Godliness and Religion; which so soon 'as *it* came to be owned, and the state of affairs put upon the 'foot of that account,[2] how God blessed them, furthering all 'undertakings, yet using the most improbable and the most 'contemptible and despicable means (for that we shall ever 'own): is very well known to you.

'What the several Successes and Issues have been, is not 'fit to mention at this time neither;—though I confess I 'thought to have enlarged myself upon that subject; foras-'much as Considering the works of God, and the operations 'of His hands, is a principal part of our duty; and a great 'encouragement to the strengthening of our hands and of our 'faith, for that which is behind.[3] And among other ends 'which those marvellous Dispensations have been given us for, 'that's a principal end, which ought to be minded by us.

'"Certainly" in this revolution of affairs, as the issue of 'those Successes which God was pleased to give to the Army, 'and "to" the Authority that then stood, there were very 'great things brought about;—besides those dints that came 'upon the Nations[4] and places where the War itself was, very 'great things in Civil matters too. "As first," the bringing 'of Offenders to justice,—and the Greatest of them. Bring-

[1] Fairfax's Army.
[2] upon that footing.
[3] still to come.
[4] England, Ireland, Scotland.

'ing of the State of this Government to the name (at least) 'of a Commonwealth. Searching and sifting of all persons 'and places. The King removed, and brought to justice; 'and many great ones with him. The House of Peers laid 'aside. The House of Commons itself, the representative of 'the People of England, winnowed, sifted, and brought to a 'handful; as you very well remember.

'And truly God would not rest there:—for, by the way, 'although it's fit for us to ascribe[1] our failings and mis-'carriages to ourselves, yet the gloriousness of the work may 'well be attributed to God Himself, and may be called His 'strange work. You remember well that at the Change of 'the Government there was not an end of our Troubles, '[*No!*]—although in that year were such high things 'transacted as indeed made it to be the most memorable 'year (I mean the Year 1648) that this Nation ever saw. 'So many Insurrections,[2] Invasions, secret Designs, open and 'public Attempts, all quashed in so short a time, and this by 'the very signal appearance of God Himself; which, I hope, 'we shall never forget!—You know also, as I said before, 'that, as the first effect of that memorable year of 1648 was 'to lay a foundation, by bringing Offenders to Punishment, 'so it brought us likewise to the Change of Government:— 'although it were worth the time, "perhaps, if one had time," 'to speak of the carriage of some in places of trust, in most 'eminent places of trust, which was such as (had not God 'miraculously appeared) would have frustrated us of the 'hopes of all our undertakings. I mean by the closure of 'the Treaty that was endeavoured with the King;[3] whereby 'they would have put into his hands all that we had engaged 'for, and all our security should have been a little piece of 'Paper! That thing going off, you very well know how it

[1] 'intitle' in orig.

[2] Kent, St. Neot's, Colchester, Welsh Poyer at Pembroke, Scotch Hamilton at Preston, etc. etc.

[3] Treaty of the Isle of Wight, again and again endeavoured.

'kept this Nation still in broils by sea and land. And yet 'what God wrought in Ireland and Scotland you likewise 'know; until He had finished these Troubles, upon the 'matter,[1] by His marvellous salvation wrought at Worcester.

'I confess to you, that I am very much troubled in my 'own spirit that the necessity of affairs requires I should be 'so short in those things: because, as I told you, this is the '*leanest* part of the Transactions, this mere historical Narra-'tive of them; there being in every particular; in the King's 'first going from the Parliament, in the pulling-down of the 'Bishops, the House of Peers, in every step towards that 'Change of the Government,—I say there is not any one of 'these things, thus removed and reformed, but hath an 'evident print of Providence set upon it, so that he who 'runs may read it. I am sorry I have not an opportunity to 'be more particular on these points, which I principally 'designed, this day; thereby to stir-up your hearts and mine 'to gratitude and confidence.

'I shall now begin a little to remind you of the passages 'that have been transacted since Worcester. Coming from 'whence, with the rest of my fellow-Officers and Soldiers, we 'did expect, and had some reasonable confidence our expecta-'tions would not be frustrated, That, having such an history 'to look back unto, such a God, so eminently visible, even 'our enemies confessing that 'God Himself was certainly 'engaged against them, else they should never have been 'disappointed in *every* engagement,'—and that may be used 'by the way, That if we had but miscarried in the least,[2] all 'our former mercies were in danger to be lost:—I say, coming 'up then, we had some confidence That the mercies God had 'shown, and the expectations which were upon our hearts, 'and upon the hearts of all good men, would have prompted 'those who were in Authority to do those good things which

[1] Means 'so to speak'; a common phrase of those times; a perpetual one with Clarendon, for instance. [2] lost one battle of these many.

'might, by honest men, have been judged fit for such a God, 'and worthy of such mercies; and indeed been a discharge of 'duty from those to whom all these mercies had been shown, 'for the true interest of this Nation! [*Yes!*]—If I should 'now labour to be particular in enumerating how businesses 'have been transacted from that time to the Dissolution of 'the late Parliament, indeed I should be upon a theme which 'would be troublesome to myself. For I think I may say for 'myself and my fellow-Officers, That we have rather desired 'and studied Healing and Looking-forward than to rake into 'sores and to look backward,—to give things forth in those 'colours that would not be very pleasing to any good eye to 'look upon. Only this we shall say for our own vindication, 'as pointing out the ground for that unavoidable necessity, 'nay even that duty that was incumbent upon us, to make 'this last great Change—I think it will not be amiss to offer 'a word or two to that. [*Hear, hear!*] As I said before, we 'are loath to rake into businesses, were there not a necessity 'so to do.

'Indeed, we may say that, ever since the coming-up of 'myself and those Gentlemen who have been engaged in the 'military part, it hath been full in our hearts and thoughts, 'To desire and use all the fair and lawful means we could to 'have the Nation reap the fruit of all the blood and treasure 'that had been spent in this Cause: and we have had many 'desires, and thirstings in our spirits, to find out ways and 'means wherein we might be anywise instrumental to help it 'forward. We were very tender, for a long time, so much as 'to petition. For some of the Officers being Members; and 'others having very good acquaintance with, and some rela-'tions to, divers Members of Parliament,—we did, from time 'to time, solicit such; thinking if there had been nobody to 'prompt them, nor call upon them, these things might have 'been attended to, from ingenuity[1] and integrity in those 'that had it in their power to answer such expectations.

[1] ingenuousness.

'Truly, when we saw nothing would be done, we did, as 'we thought according to our duty, a little, to remind them 'by a Petition; which I suppose you have seen: it was 'delivered, as I remember, in August last.[1] What effect that 'had, is likewise very well known. The truth is, we had no 'return at all for our satisfaction,—a few words given us; 'the things presented by us, or the most of them, we were 'told 'were under consideration': and those not presented 'by us had very little or no consideration at all. Finding 'the People dissatisfied in every corner of the Nation, and '"all men" laying at our doors the non-performance of these 'things, which had been promised, and were of duty to be 'performed,—truly we did then think ourselves concerned, 'if we would (as becomes honest men) keep-up the reputation 'of honest men in the world. And therefore we, divers 'times, endeavoured to obtain meetings with divers Members 'of Parliament;—and we did not begin those till about 'October last. And in these meetings we did, with all faith-'fulness and sincerity, beseech them that they would be 'mindful of their duty to God and men, in the discharge of 'the trust reposed in them. I believe (as there are many 'gentlemen here know), we had at least ten or twelve meet-'ings; most humbly begging and beseeching of them, That 'by their own means they would bring forth those good 'things which had been promised and expected; that so it 'might appear they did not do them by any suggestion from 'the Army, but from their own ingenuity: so tender were we 'to preserve them in the reputation of the People. Having 'had very many of those meetings; and declaring plainly 'that the issue would be the displeasure and judgment of 'God, the dissatisfaction of the People, the putting of "all" 'things into a confusion: yet how little we prevailed, we very 'well know, and we believe it's not unknown to you.

'At last, when indeed we saw that things would not be 'laid to heart, we had a very serious consideration among

[1] Antea, p. 24; *Commons Journals*, vii. 164 (13th August 1652).

'ourselves what other ways to have recourse unto [*Yea, that is 'the question!*]; and when we grew to more closer consider-'ations, then they "the Parliament men" began to take the 'Act for a Representative[1] to heart, and seemed exceeding 'willing to put it on. And had it been done with integrity, 'there could nothing have happened more welcome to our 'judgments than that. But plainly the intention was, Not 'to give the People a right of choice; it would have been 'but a seeming right: that "semblance" of giving them a 'choice was only to recruit the House, the better to per-'petuate *themselves*. And truly, having been, divers of us, 'spoken unto to give way hereunto, to which we made per-'petual aversions, indeed abominating the thoughts of it,— 'we declared our judgments against it, and our dissatisfaction 'with it. And yet they that would not hear of a Representa-'tive formerly, when it lay three years before them, without 'proceeding one line, or making any considerable progress,— 'I say, those that would not hear of this Bill formerly, did 'now, when they saw us falling into more closer consider-'ations, make, instead of protracting their Bill, as much 'preposterous haste with it on the other side, and run into 'that "opposite" extremity.

'Finding that this spirit was not according to God; and 'that the whole weight of this Cause,—which must needs be 'very dear unto us who had so often adventured our lives for 'it, and we believe it was so to you,—did hang upon the 'business now in hand; and seeing plainly that there was 'not here any consideration to assert this Cause, or provide 'security for *it*, but only to cross the troublesome people of 'the Army, who by this time were high enough in their dis-'pleasures: Truly, I say, when we saw all this, having power 'in our hands, "we could not resolve" to let such monstrous 'proceedings go on, and so to throw away all our liberties 'into the hands of those whom we had fought against [*Pres-byterian-Royalists; at Preston and elsewhere,* — '*fought*

[1] For a New Parliament and Method of Election

against,' *yea and beaten to ruin, your Excellency might* ' *add*!']; we came, first, to this conclusion among ourselves, ' That if we had been *fought* out of our liberties and rights, ' Necessity would have taught us patience; but that to deliver ' them "sluggishly" up would render us the basest persons in ' the world, and worthy to be accounted haters of God and of ' His People. When it pleased God to lay this close to our ' hearts; and indeed to show us that the interest of His ' People was grown cheap, "that *it* was" not at all laid to ' heart, but that if things came to real competition, His ' Cause, even among themselves, would also in every point go ' to the ground: indeed, this did add more considerations to ' us, That there was a duty incumbent upon us, "even upon ' us." And,—I speak here in the presence of some that were ' at the closure of our consultations, and as before the Lord, ' —the thinking of an act of violence was to us worse than ' any battle that ever we were in, or that could be, to the ' utmost hazard of our lives [*Hear him!*]: so willing were we, ' even very tender and desirous, if possible, that these men ' might quit their places with honour.

' I am the longer upon this; because it hath been in our ' own hearts and consciences, justifying us, and hath never been ' yet thoroughly imparted to any; and we had rather begin ' with you than have done it before;—and do think indeed ' that this Transaction is more proper for a verbal communi- ' cation than to have it put into writing. I doubt, he whose ' pen is most gentle in England would, in recording that, have ' been tempted, whether he would or no, to dip it deep in ' anger and wrath. [*Stifled cries from Dryasdust.*]—But ' affairs being at this posture; we seeing plainly, even in some ' critical cases,[1] that the Cause of the People of God was a ' despised thing;—truly we did believe then that the hands ' of other men "than these" must be the hands to be used ' for the work. And we thought then, it was very high time ' to look about us, and to be sensible of *our* duty. [*Oliver's*

[1] ' things.'

voice somewhat rising; Major-General Harrison and the others looking rather animated!]

'If, I say, I should take-up your time to tell you what 'instances we have to satisfy our judgments and consciences, 'That these are not vain imaginations, nor things fictitious, 'but which fell within the compass of our own certain know-'ledge, it would bring me, I say, to what I would avoid, to 'rake-into these things too much. Only this. If anybody 'was in competition for any place of real and signal trust, "if 'any really public interest was at stake in that Parliament," 'how hard and difficult a matter was it to get anything 'carried without making parties,—without practices[1] indeed 'unworthy of a Parliament! When things must be carried 'so in a Supreme Authority, indeed I think it is not as it 'ought to be, to say no worse [*Nor do I*]!—Then, when we 'came to other trials, as in that case of Wales, "of establish-'ing a Preaching Ministry in Wales," which, I must confess 'for my own part, I set myself upon,—if I should relate what 'discountenance that business of the poor People of God there 'had (who had men[2] watching over them like so many wolves, 'ready to catch the lambs so soon as they were brought forth 'into the world); how signally that Business was trodden 'under foot "in Parliament," to the discountenancing of the 'Honest People, and the countenancing of the Malignant 'Party, of this Commonwealth —! I need but say it was so. 'For many of you know, and by sad experience have felt it to 'be so. And somebody I hope will, at leisure, better impart 'to you the state of that Business "of Wales"; which really, 'to myself and Officers, was as plain a trial of their spirits, '"the Parliament's spirits," as anything,—it being known to 'many of us that God had kindled a seed there,[3] indeed hardly 'to be paralleled since the Primitive time.—

'I would these had been all the instances we had! Finding,

[1] 'things.'

[2] Clergymen so-called.

[3] Expression then correct enough: 'kindle'=*kindeln* (German), meaning 'give birth to,' 'create.' Occurs in Shakspeare more than once.

'"however," which way the spirits of men went, finding that 'good was never intended to the People of God,—I mean, 'when I say the People of God, I mean the *large* comprehen- 'sion of them, under the several Forms of Godliness in this 'Nation;—finding, I say, that all tenderness was forgotten 'to the Good People (though it was by *their* hands and their 'means, under the blessing of God, that *those* sat where they 'did),—we thought this very bad requital! I will not say, 'they were come to an utter inability of working Reformation, '—though I might say so in regard to one thing: the Re- 'formation of the Law, so much groaned under in the posture 'it now is in. [*Hear, hear!*] That was a thing we had 'many good words spoken for; but we know that many 'months together were not enough for the settling of one 'word, 'Incumbrances' [*Three calendar months! A grim 'smile on some faces*],—I say, finding that this was the spirit 'and complexion of men,—although these were faults for 'which no man should lift-up his hand against the Superior 'Magistrate; not simply for these faults and failings,—yet 'when we saw that this "New Representative of theirs" was 'meant to perpetuate men of such spirits; nay when we had 'it from their own mouths, That they could not endure to 'hear of the Dissolution of this Parliament: we thought this 'an high breach of trust. If they had been a Parliament 'never violence was upon,[1] sitting as free and clear as any in 'former ages, it was thought, this, to be a breach of trust, such as a greater could not be.

'And that we might not be in doubt about these matters; 'having had that Conference among ourselves which I gave 'you an account of, we did desire one more,—and indeed it 'was the night before the Dissolution; it had been desired 'two or three nights before: we did desire that we might 'speak with some of the principal persons of the House. 'That we might with ingenuity open our hearts to them; 'that we might either be convinced of the certainty of their

[1] Had no Pride's Purge, Apprentice-riot, or the like, ever come upon them.

'intentions; or else that they would be pleased to hear our 'expedients to prevent these inconveniences. And indeed 'we could not attain our desire till the night before the 'Dissolution. There is a touch of this in our Declaration.[1] 'As I said before, at that time we had often desired it, and 'at that time we obtained it: where about Twenty of them 'were, none of the least in consideration for their interest 'and ability; with whom we desired some discourse upon 'these things; and had it. And it pleased these Gentlemen, 'who are here, the Officers of the Army, to desire me to offer 'their sense for them, which I did, and it was shortly thus: 'We told them 'the reason of our desire to wait upon them 'now was, that we might know from them, What security 'lay in their manner of proceeding, so hastened, for a New 'Representative; wherein they had made a few qualifications, 'such as they were: and How the whole business would, "in 'actual practice," be executed: Of which we had as yet no 'account; and yet we had our interest, our lives, estates and 'families therein concerned; and, we thought likewise, the 'Honest People had interest in us: "How all this was to 'be?" That so, if it did seem they meant to appear in such 'honest and just ways as might be security to the Honest 'Interest, we might therein acquiesce: or else that they would 'hear what we had to offer.' Indeed, when this desire was 'made, the answer was, 'That nothing would do good for 'this Nation but the continuance of this Parliament!' We 'wondered we should have such a return. We said little to 'that: but, seeing they would not give us satisfaction that 'their ways were honourable and just, we craved their leave 'to make our objections. We then told them, That the way 'they were going in would be impracticable. "That" we 'could not tell how to send out an Act with such qualifica-'tions as to be a rule for electing and for being elected, Until 'we first knew who the persons were that should be admitted 'to elect. And above all, Whether any of the qualifications

[1] Of April 22d; referred to, not given, at p. 38.

'reached "so far as to include" the Presbyterian Party.[1] 'And we were bold to tell them, That none of that judgment 'who had deserted this Cause and Interest[2] should have any 'power therein. We did think we should profess it, That 'we had as good deliver up our Cause into the hands of any 'as into the hands of those who had deserted us, or who were 'as neuters! For it's one thing to love a brother, to bear 'with and love a person of different judgment in matters of 'religion; and another thing to have anybody so far set in 'the saddle on that account, as to have all the rest of his 'brethren at mercy.

'Truly, Gentlemen, having this discourse concerning the 'impracticableness of the thing, the bringing-in of neuters, 'and such as had deserted this Cause, whom we very well 'knew; objecting likewise how dangerous it would be by 'drawing concourses of people in the several Counties (every 'person that was within the qualification or without); and 'how it did fall obvious to us that the power would come 'into the hands of men who had very little affection to this 'Cause: the answer again was made, and that by very 'eminent persons, 'That nothing would save the Nation but 'the continuance of this Parliament.' This being so, we 'humbly proposed,—since neither our counsels, our objections 'to their way of proceeding, nor their answers to justify that, 'did give us satisfaction; nor did we think they ever intended 'to give us any, which indeed some of them have since 'declared "to be the fact,"—we proposed to them, I say *our* 'expedient; which was indeed this: That the Government of 'the Nation being in such a condition as we saw, and things '"being" under so much ill sense abroad, and likely to end 'in confusion "if we so proceeded,"—we desired they would 'devolve the trust over to some Well-affected Men, such as 'had an interest in the Nation, and were known to be of 'good affection to the Commonwealth. Which, we told

[1] 'Presbytery' in orig.

[2] None of your Royalists, Hamilton-Invasion Presbyterians.

'them, was no new thing when this Land was under the like hurlyburlies. And we had been labouring to get precedents '"out of History" to convince them of it; and it was con-'fessed by them it had been no new thing. This expedient 'we offered out of the deep sense we had of the Cause of 'Christ; and were answered so as I told you, That nothing 'would save this Nation but the continuance of that Parlia-'ment. "The continuance": they would not "be brought 'to" say the *perpetuating* of it, at this time; yet we found 'their endeavours did directly tend that way; they gave us 'this answer, 'That the thing we offered was of a very high 'nature and of tender consideration: How would money be 'raised?'—and made some other objections. We told them '"how"; and that we here offered an expedient five times 'better than that "of theirs," for which no reason was given, 'nor we thought could be given [*Why should the Fag-end of this poor old Parliament, now fallen impotent except to raise money for itself, continue? No reason is given, nor we think 'can be, that will convince mankind*];—and desired them that 'they would lay things seriously to heart! They told us, 'They would take time for the consideration of these things 'till tomorrow; they would sleep upon them, and consult 'some friends; "some friends,"—though, as I said, there were 'about Twenty-three "of them here," and not above Fifty-'three in the House. And at parting, two or three of the 'chief of them, one of the chief [*O, Sir Harry Vane!*], and 'two or three more, did tell us, That they would endeavour 'to suspend farther proceedings about their Bill for a New 'Representative until they had another conference with us. 'And upon this we had great satisfaction; and had hope, if 'our expedient could receive a loving debate, that the next 'day we should have some such issue thereof as would give 'satisfaction to all.[1] And herewith they went away, "it" 'being late at night.

'The next morning, we considering how to order what

[1] 'hoping by conference to have satisfaction to all' in orig.

'we had farther to offer to them in the evening, word was 'brought us that the House was proceeding with all speed 'upon the New Representative! We could not believe it, 'that such persons would be so unworthy; we remained there 'till a second and third messenger came, with tidings That 'the House was really upon that business, and had brought 'it near to the issue,—and with that height[1] as was never 'before exercised; leaving out all things relating to the due 'exercise of the qualifications (which had appeared all along '"in it till now"); and "meaning," as we heard, to pass it 'only on paper, without engrossing, for the quicker despatch 'of it.—Thus, as we apprehend, would the Liberties of 'the Nation have been thrown away into the hands of 'those who had never fought for it. And upon this we 'thought it our duty not to suffer it. [*No!*]—And upon 'this the House was dissolved, even when the Speaker was 'going to put the last question. [*Let* HIM *travel, at any rate!*]

'I have too much troubled you with this: but we have 'made this relation, that you might know that what hath 'been done in the Dissolution of the Parliament was as 'necessary to be done as the preservation of this Cause. 'And the necessity which led us to do that, hath brought us 'to this "present" issue, Of exercising an extraordinary way 'and course to draw You together "here"; upon this 'account, that you are men who know the Lord, and have 'made observations of His marvellous Dispensations; and 'may be trusted, as far as men may be trusted, with this 'Cause.

'It remains now for me to acquaint you "a little" farther 'with what relates to your taking upon you this great 'Business. "But indeed" that is contained in the Paper[2] 'here in my hand, which will be offered presently to you to

[1] violence, height of temper.

[2] An Indenture or Instrument of Government, some account of which can be found, if any one is curious about it, in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 175.

'read.[1] But having done that, we have done [*Dissolving of the Parliament; which cannot be repented of, and need not be boasted of!*] upon such ground of necessity as we have '"now" declared, which was not a feigned necessity but a 'real,—"it did behove us," to the end we might manifest to 'the world the singleness of our hearts and our integrity who 'did these things, Not to grasp at the power ourselves, or 'keep it in military hands, no not for a day; but, as far 'as God enabled us with strength and ability, to put it 'into the hands of Proper Persons that might be called 'from the several parts of the Nation. This necessity; 'and I hope we may say for ourselves, this integrity of 'concluding to divest the Sword of all power in the Civil 'Administration,—hath been that that hath moved us to 'put You to this trouble "of coming hither": and having 'done that, truly we think we cannot, with the discharge of 'our own consciences, but offer somewhat to you on the 'devolving of the burden on your shoulders.[2] It hath been 'the practice of others who have, voluntarily and out of a 'sense of duty, divested themselves, and devolved the Govern-'ment into new hands; I say, it hath been the practice of 'those that have done so; it hath been practised, and is very 'consonant to reason, To lay "down," together with their 'Authority, some Charge "how to employ it"[3] (as we hope 'we have done), and to press the duty "of employing it

[1] Considerable discrepancies in the Two Reports throughout this paragraph; indicating some embarrassment and intricacy in the Speaker. Which with our best industry we endeavour to reconcile; to elicit from them what the real utterance, or thought and attempted utterance of the Speaker may have been. The two Reporters being faithful according to their ability, and the Speaker faithful according to his, all discrepancies ought to dissolve themselves in clearer insight and conviction; as we hope they do.

[2] 'For our own exoneration' in orig.

[3] He seems embarrassed lest he be thought to have some authority over this new Little Parliament, and to treat them as if he were their King. The dissolving of the old Parliament has also its embarrassment, though not so prominent here; and both together make an intricate paragraph. Our Two Reports, from this point, virtually coincide again.

'well": concerning which we have a word or two to offer 'you.

'Truly God hath called you to this Work by, I think, as 'wonderful providences as ever passed upon the sons of men 'in so short a time. And truly I think, taking the argument 'of necessity, for the Government must not *fall*; taking the 'appearance of the hand of God in this thing,—"I think" 'you would have been loath it should have been resigned 'into the hands of wicked men and enemies! I am sure, 'God would not have it so. It's come, therefore, to you by 'the way of necessity; by the way of the wise Providence of 'God,—through weak hands. And therefore, I think, coming 'through our hands, though such as we are, it may not be ill 'taken if we do offer somewhat (as I said before) as to the 'discharge of the Trust which is now incumbent upon you. '[*Certainly not!*] And although I seem to speak of that 'which may have the face and interpretation of a Charge, 'it's a very humble one: and if he that means to be a Servant 'to you, who hath now called you to the exercise of the 'Supreme Authority, discharge what he conceives to be a duty 'to you, we hope you will take it in good part.

'And truly I shall not hold you long in it; because I 'hope it's written in your hearts to approve yourselves to 'God. Only this Scripture I shall remember to you, which 'hath been much upon my spirit: *Hosea*, xi. 12, 'Judah yet 'ruleth with God, and is faithful with the Saints.' It's said 'before, that 'Ephraim compassed God about with lies, and 'the house of Israel with deceit.' How God hath been 'compassed about by fastings and thanksgivings,[1] and other

[1] There was a Monthly Fast, the Last Wednesday of every Month, held duly for about Seven Years; till, after the King's Death, we abolished it. Immense preaching and howling, all over the country, there has been on these stated Wednesdays; sincere and insincere. Not to speak of due Thanksgivings for victories and felicities innumerable; all ending in this infelicitous condition! His Excellency thinks we ought to restrain such habits; not to imitate Ephraim, or the Long Parliament, in such. The rest of this Discourse is properly a Sermon of his; and one conceived in a different style.

'exercises and transactions, I think we have all cause to 'lament. Truly you are called by God, "as Judah was," to '"rule with Him,' and for Him. And you are called to be 'faithful with the Saints who have been instrumental to your 'call. "Again," *Second Samuel*, xxi. 3, 'He that ruleth over 'men,' the Scripture saith, 'must be just, ruling in the 'fear of God.' [*Groans from Dryasdust. Patience, my friend! Really, does not all this seem an incredibility;—a palpable hypocrisy, since it is not the mouth of an imbecile that speaks it? My estimable, timberheaded, leadenhearted friend, can there be any doubt of it?*]

'And truly it's better to *pray* for you than to *counsel* you 'in that matter, That you may exercise the judgment of 'mercy and truth! It's better, I say, to pray for you than 'counsel you; to ask wisdom from Heaven for you; which 'I am confident many thousands of Saints do this day, "and" 'have done, and will do, through the permission of God and 'His assistance. I say it's better to pray than advise: yet 'truly I think of another Scripture, which is very useful, 'though it seems to be for a common application to every 'man as a Christian,—wherein he is counselled to ask wisdom;[1] 'and he is told what that is. That's 'from Above,' we are 'told; it's 'pure, peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated, 'full of mercy and good fruits'; it's 'without partiality and 'without hypocrisy.' Truly my thoughts run much upon 'this place, that to the execution of judgment (the judg-'ment of truth, for that's the judgment) you must have 'wisdom 'from Above'; and that's 'pure.' That will teach 'you to exercise the judgment of truth; it's 'without parti-'ality.' Purity, impartiality, sincerity: these are the effects 'of wisdom,' and these will help you to execute the judgment 'of truth. And then if God give you hearts to be 'easy to

[1] 'But the Wisdom that is from Above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated; full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy. And the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace' (James iii. 17, 18).

'be entreated,' to be 'peaceably spirited,' to be 'full of good 'fruits,' bearing good fruits to the Nation, to men as men, to 'the People of God, to all in their several stations,—*this* will 'teach you to execute the judgment of mercy and truth. [*Yes, if thou understand it; still yes,—and nothing else will!*] 'And I have little more to say to this. I shall rather bend 'my prayers for you in that behalf, as I said; and many 'others will.

'Truly the 'judgment of truth,' it will teach you to be 'as just towards an Unbeliever as towards a Believer; and 'it 's our duty to do so. I confess I have said sometimes, 'foolishly it may be: I had rather miscarry to a Believer than 'an Unbeliever.[1] This may seem a paradox:—but let 's take 'heed of doing that which is evil to either! Oh, if God fill 'your hearts with such a spirit as Moses had, and as Paul 'had,—which was not a spirit for Believers only, but for the 'whole People! Moses, he could die for them; wish himself '' blotted out of God's Book ':[2] Paul could wish himself '' accursed for his countrymen after the flesh '[3] [*Let us never forget that, in Moses and Paul.—Are not these amazing senti-* '*ments, on their part, my estimable, timberheaded, leadenhearted* '*friend?*]: so full of affection were their spirits unto all. And 'truly this would help you to execute the judgment of truth, 'and of mercy also.

'A second thing is, To desire you would be faithful with 'the Saints; to be touched with them. And I hope, what-'ever others may think, it may be a matter to us all of 'rejoicing to have our hearts touched (with reverence be it 'spoken) as Christ, 'being full of the spirit,' was 'touched 'with our infirmities,' that He might be merciful. So should 'we be; we should be pitiful. Truly, this calls us to be very 'much touched with the infirmities of the Saints; that we 'may have a respect unto all, and be pitiful and tender 'towards all, though of different judgments. And if I did

[1] Do wrong to a good than to a bad man; a remarkable sentiment.
[2] Exodus xxxii. 32. [3] Romans ix. 3.

'seem to speak something that reflected on those of the 'Presbyterial judgment,—truly I think if we have not an 'interest of love for them too, we shall[1] hardly answer this 'of being faithful to the Saints.

'In my pilgrimage, and some exercises I have had abroad, 'I did read that Scripture often, Forty-first of *Isaiah*; where 'God gave me, and some of my fellows, encouragement "as 'to" what He would do there and elsewhere; which He hath performed for us. He said, 'He would plant in the wilder- 'ness the cedar, the shittah-tree, and the myrtle and the 'oil-tree; and He would set in the desert the fir-tree, and 'the pine-tree, and the box-tree together.' For what end 'will the Lord do all this? 'That they may see, and know, 'and consider, and understand together, That the hand of 'the Lord hath done this';—that it is He who hath wrought 'all the salvations and deliverances we have received. For 'what end? To see, and know, and understand together, 'that He hath done and wrought all this for the good of 'the Whole Flock. [*Even so. For "Saints" read "Good 'Men"; and it is true to the end of the world.*] Therefore, I 'beseech you,—but I think I need not,—have a care of the 'Whole Flock! Love the sheep, love the lambs; love all, 'tender all, cherish and countenance all, in all things that are 'good. And if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken 'Christian, shall desire to live peaceably and quietly under 'you,—I say, if any shall desire but to lead a life of godliness 'and honesty, let him be protected.

'I think I need not advise, much less press you, to endea- 'vour the Promoting of the Gospel; to encourage the 'Ministry;[2] such a Ministry and such Ministers as be faithful 'in the Land; upon whom the true character is. Men that 'have received the Spirit, which Christians will be able to 'discover, and do "the will of"; men that 'have received 'Gifts from Him who is ascended up on high, who hath led 'captivity captive, to *give* gifts to men,'[3] even for this same

[1] 'will' in orig. [2] Preaching Clergy. [3] Ephesians iv. 8.

'work of the Ministry! And truly the Apostle, speaking in 'another place, in the Twelfth of the *Romans*, when he has 'summed-up all the mercies of God, and the goodness of 'God; and discoursed, in the former Chapters, of the founda- 'tions of the Gospel, and of those things that are the sub- 'ject of those first Eleven Chapters,—he beseecheth them to '"present their bodies a living sacrifice." [*Note that!*] He 'beseecheth them that they would not esteem highly of them- 'selves, but be humble and sober-minded, and not stretch 'themselves beyond their line; and also that they would 'have a care for those that "had received gifts" to the uses 'there mentioned. I speak not,—I thank God it is far from 'my heart,—for a Ministry deriving itself from the Papacy, 'and pretending to that which is so much insisted on, '"Succession." ["*Hear, hear!*" *from the Puseyites.*] The true 'Succession is through the Spirit—[*I should say so!*]—given 'in its measure. The Spirit is given for that use, "To make 'proper Speakers-forth of God's eternal Truth"; and that's 'right Succession. But I need not discourse of these things 'to you; who, I am persuaded, are taught of God, much 'more and in a greater measure than myself, concerning these 'things.

'Indeed I have but one word more to say to you; though 'in that perhaps I shall show my weakness: it's by way of 'encouragement to go on in this Work. And give me leave 'to begin thus. I confess I never looked to see such a Day 'as this,—it may be nor you neither,—when Jesus Christ 'should be so owned as He is, this day, in this Work. Jesus 'Christ is owned this day by the Call of You; and you own 'Him by your willingness to appear for Him. And you manifest this, as far as poor creatures may do, to be a Day 'of the Power of Christ. I know you well remember that 'Scripture, "He makes His People willing in the day of His 'power."[1] God manifests this to be the Day of the Power

[1] Psalm cx. 3; a favourite Psalm of Oliver's,—as we know already, and solid Ludlow knows.

'of Christ; having, through so much blood, and so much 'trial as hath been upon these Nations, made this to be one 'of the great issues thereof: To have His People called to 'the Supreme Authority. [*A thing, I confess, worth striving 'for; and the one thing worth striving for!*] He makes this 'to be the greatest mercy, next to His own Son. God hath 'owned His Son; and He hath owned you, and made you 'own Him. I confess I never looked to have seen such a 'day; I did not.—Perhaps you are not known by face to 'one another; "indeed" I am confident you are strangers, 'coming from all parts of the Nation as you do: but we 'shall tell you that indeed we have not allowed ourselves 'the choice of one person in whom we had not this good 'hope, That there was in him faith in Jesus Christ, and love 'to all His People and Saints. [*What a Parliament; unexampled before and since in this world!*]

'Thus God hath owned you in the eyes of the world; 'and thus, by coming hither, you own Him: and, as it is in '*Isaiah*, xliii. 21,—it 's an high expression; and look to your 'own hearts whether, now or hereafter, God shall apply it to '*you:* 'This People,' saith God, 'I have formed for Myself, 'that they may show forth my praise.' I say, it 's a memor-'able passage; and, I hope, not unfitly applied: the Lord 'apply it to each of your hearts! I shall not descant upon 'the words; they are plain: indeed you are as like the '"forming of God" as ever people were. If a man should 'tender a Book to you "to swear you upon," I dare appeal 'to all your consciences, Neither directly nor indirectly did 'you seek for your coming hither. You have been passive 'in coming hither; being *called*,—and indeed that 's an active 'work,—"though not on your part"! 'This People have *I 'formed*': consider the circumstances by which you are '"called" hither; through what strivings [*At Marston Moor, 'at Naseby, Dunbar and elsewhere*], through what blood you 'are come hither,—where neither you nor I, nor no man 'living, three months ago, had any thought to have seen

'such a company taking upon them, or rather being called 'to take, the Supreme Authority of this Nation! Therefore, 'own your call! Indeed, I think it may be truly said that 'there never was a Supreme Authority consisting of such a 'Body, above One-hundred-and-forty, I believe; "never such 'a Body" that came into the Supreme Authority "before," 'under such a notion "as this," in such a way of owning God, 'and being owned by Him. And therefore I may also say, 'never such a 'People' so 'formed,' for such a purpose, '"were" thus called before. [*These are lucent considerations; lucent, nay radiant!*]

'If it were a time to compare your standing with "that 'of" those that have been 'called' by the Suffrages of the 'People—[*He does not say what the result would be*]—Which 'who can tell how soon God may fit the People for such a 'thing? None can desire it more than I! Would all were 'the Lord's People; as it was said, 'Would all the Lord's 'People were Prophets!' [*Fit to sit in Parliament and make 'Laws: alas, hitherto but few of them can 'prophesy'!*] I 'would all were fit to be called. It ought to be the longing 'of our hearts to see men brought to own the Interest of 'Jesus Christ. And give me leave to say: If I know any-'thing in the world, what is there likelier to win the People 'to the interest of Jesus Christ, to the love of Godliness '(and therefore what stronger duty lies on you, being thus 'called), than an humble and godly conversation? So that 'they may see "that" you love them; "that" you lay your-'selves out, time and spirits, for them! Is not this the 'likeliest way to bring them to their liberties? [*To make them free by being servants of God; free, and fit to elect for 'Parliament!*] And do not you, by this, put it upon God to 'find out times and seasons for you; "fit seasons" by putting 'forth His Spirit? At least you convince them that, as men 'fearing God have fought them out of their bondage under 'the Regal Power, so men fearing God do now rule them in 'the fear of God, and take care to administer Good unto

'them.—But this is some digression. I say, own your call; 'for it is of God! Indeed, it is marvellous, and it hath been 'unprojected. It 's not long since either you or we came to 'know of it. And indeed this hath been the way God dealt 'with us all along, To keep things from our eyes all along, 'so that we have seen nothing, in all His dispensations, long 'beforehand;—which is also a witness, in some measure, to 'our integrity. [*'Integrity!' from Dryasdust.—Husht, my friend, it is incredible! A flat impossibility, how can it be believed? To the human Owl, living in his perennial London Fog, in his Twilight of all imaginable corrupt Exhalations, and with his poor head, too, overspun to such extent with red-tape, parliamentary eloquence, force of public opinion, and suchlike, how shall the Azure Firmaments and Everlasting Stars become credible? They are and remain incredible. From his shut sense all light-rays are victoriously repelled; no light shall get admittance there. In no Heaven's-light will he, for his part, ever believe;—till at last, as is the necessity withal, it come to him as lightning! Then he will 'believe it.*]—I say, you are called with an high calling. And 'why should we be afraid to say or think, That *this* may be 'the door to usher-in the Things that God has promised; 'which have been prophesied of; which He has set the hearts 'of His People to wait for and expect?[1] We know who they 'are that shall war with the Lamb, 'against His enemies': 'they shall be 'a people called, and chosen, and faithful.' 'And God hath, in a Military way,—we may speak it with-'out flattering ourselves, and I believe you know it,—He 'hath appeared with them, "with that same 'people,'" and 'for them; and now in these Civil Powers and Authorities '"does not He appear?" These are not ill prognostica-'tions of the God we wait for. Indeed I do think some-'what is at the door: we are at the threshold;—and 'therefore it becomes us to lift-up our heads, and encourage

[1] Hundred-and-tenth Psalm, and other Scriptures, are known to Ludlow and us!

'ourselves in the Lord. And we have thought, some of us, 'That it is our duties to *endeavour* this way; not merely to 'look at that Prophecy in Daniel, 'And the Kingdom shall 'not be delivered to another people,' "and passively wait." 'Truly God hath brought this to your hands; by the 'owning of your call; blessing the Military Power. The 'Lord hath directed their [*our*] hearts to be instrumental to 'call you; and set it upon our hearts to deliver over the 'Power 'to another people.' [*Therefore 'we' are not the 'persons prophesied of?*]—But I may appear to be beyond 'my line here; these things are dark. Only, I desire my 'thoughts[1] to be exercised in these things, and so I hope 'are yours.

'Truly seeing things are thus, that you are at the edge of 'the Promises and Prophecies—[*Does not say what results*]— 'At least, if there were neither Promise nor Prophecy, yet you 'are carrying-on the best things, you are endeavouring after 'the best things; and, as I have said elsewhere,[2] if I were to 'choose any servant, the meanest Officer for the Army or the 'Commonwealth, I would choose a godly man that hath 'principles. Especially where a trust is to be committed. 'Because I know where to *have* a man that hath principles. 'I believe if any one of you should choose a servant, you 'would do thus. And I would all our Magistrates were so 'chosen:—this may be done; there may be good effects of 'this! Surely it's our duty to choose men that fear the 'Lord, and will praise the Lord: such hath the Lord 'formed 'for Himself'; and He expects no praises from *other* "than 'such." [*O, Secretary of the Home Department, my right honourable friend!*]

'This being so, truly it puts me in mind of another 'Scripture, that famous Psalm, Sixty-eighth Psalm;[3] which

[1] 'senses' in orig.

[2] In some Speech now lost:—probably in many Speeches; certainly in all manner of Practice and Action.

[3] We remember it ever since Dunbar morning; let us read a passage or two

'indeed is a glorious Prophecy, I am persuaded, of the Gospel 'Churches,—it may be, of the Jews also. There it prophesies 'that 'He will bring His People again from the depths of 'the Sea, as once He led Israel through the Red Sea.' And 'it may be, as some think, God will bring the Jews home to 'their station 'from the isles of the sea,' and answer their 'expectations 'as from the depths of the sea.' But, "at all 'events," sure I am, when the Lord shall set-up the glory of 'the Gospel Church, it shall be a gathering of people as 'out 'of deep waters,' 'out of the multitude of waters': such 'are His People, drawn out of the multitudes of the Nations 'and People of this world.—And truly that Psalm is very 'glorious in many other parts of it: When He gathers them, ''great was the company' of them that publish His word. ''Kings of Armies did flee apace, and she that tarried at 'home divided the spoil' [*Consider Charles Stuart, First and 'Second; and what we see this day!*]; and 'Although ye 'have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a 'dove, covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold.' '[*Hah!*] And indeed the triumph of that Psalm is exceed-'ing high and great; and God is accomplishing it. And

of it again: His Excellency and the Little Parliament will perhaps wait a moment; and it may do us good!

'Let God arise, let His enemies be scattered: let them also that hate Him flee before Him. As smoke is driven away, so drive them away; as wax melteth before the fire, so let the wicked perish before the presence of God.' The unhappy!

'But let the righteous be glad: let them rejoice before God, yea let them rejoice exceedingly. Sing unto God, sing praises to His name. A father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows, is God in His holy habitation.—

'O God, when Thou wentest forth before Thy People,— —the Earth shook, the Heavens also dropped. Kings of Armies did flee apace; and she that tarried at home divided the spoil.' Ye poor and brave, be ye of courage! 'Though ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove, covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold.

'The Hill of God is as the Hill of Bashan; an high Hill as the Hill of Bashan.' Inexpugnable, that! 'Why leap ye, ye high Hills? This is the Hill of God, which God desireth to dwell in: yea, the Lord will dwell in it forever. The chariots of God are twenty-thousand, even thousands of Angels: the Lord is among them, as in Sinai, in the holy place.'

'the close of it,—that closeth with my heart, and I do not 'doubt with yours, 'The Lord shakes the hills and moun-'tains, and they reel.' And God hath a Hill too; 'an high 'Hill as the Hill of Bashan: and the chariots of God are 'twenty-thousand, even thousands of Angels, and God will 'dwell upon this Hill for ever!'—[PROCUL PROFANI! *The man is without a soul that looks into this Great Soul of a man, radiant with the splendours of very Heaven, and sees nothing there but the shadow of his own mean darkness. Ape of the Dead Sea, peering asquint into the Holy of Holies, let us have done with* THY *commentaries! Thou canst not fathom it.*]

'I am sorry I have troubled you, in such a place of heat 'as this is, so long. All I have to say, in my own name, and 'that of my fellow-Officers who have joined with me in this 'work, is: That we shall commend you to the grace of God, 'to the guidance of His Spirit: "That" having thus far 'served you, or rather our Lord Jesus Christ "in regard to 'you," we shall be ready in our stations, according as the 'Providence of God shall lead us, to be subservient to the '"farther" work of God, and to that Authority which we 'shall reckon God hath set over us. And though we have 'no formal thing to present you with, to which the hands, or 'visible expressions. of the Officers and Soldiers of the three 'Nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland "are set"; yet 'we may say of them, and we may say also with confidence 'for our brethren at Sea,—with whom neither in Scotland, 'Ireland, nor at Sea, hath there been any artifice used to 'persuade their consents to this work,—that nevertheless 'their consents have flowed in to us from all parts, beyond 'our expectations: and we may with all confidence say, that 'as we have their approbation and full consent to the other 'work, so you have their hearts and affections unto this,[1] And 'not only theirs: we have very many Papers from the Churches

[1] 'other work' delicately means *dissolving the old Parliament;* 'this' is *assembling of you,* 'this very thing.'

'of Christ throughout the Nation; wonderfully both approving 'what hath been done in removing of obstacles, and approving 'what we have done in this very thing. And having said 'this, we shall trouble you no more. But if you will be 'pleased that this Instrument[1] be read to you, which I have 'signed by the advice of the Council of Officers,—we shall 'then leave you to your own thoughts and the guidance of 'God; to dispose of yourselves for a farther meeting, as you 'shall see cause.[2]

'I have only this to add. The affairs of the Nation 'lying on our hands to be taken care of; and we knowing 'that both the Affairs at Sea, the Armies in Ireland and 'Scotland, and the providing of things for the preventing of 'inconveniences, and the answering of emergencies, did require 'that there should be no Interruption, but that care ought to 'be taken for these things; and foreseeing likewise that before 'you could digest yourselves into such a method, both for 'place, time, and other circumstances, as you shall please to 'proceed in, some time would be required,—which the 'Commonwealth could not bear in respect to the managing 'of things: I have, within a week "past," set-up a Council 'of State, to whom the managing of affairs is committed. 'Who, I may say, very voluntarily and freely, before they see 'how the issue of things will be, have engaged themselves in 'business; eight or nine of them being Members of the 'House that late was.—I say I did exercise that power 'which, I thought, was devolved upon me at that time; to 'the end affairs might not have any interval "or inter-'ruption." And now when you are met, it will ask some 'time for the settling of your affairs and your way. And, '"on the other hand," a day cannot be lost, "or left vacant,"

[1] The Instrument is to be found among the Old Pamphlets; but being of a much lower strain, mere constitutionalities, etc., in phrase and purport alike leaden, we do not read it.

[2] Report in *Parliamentary History*, and the common Pamphlets, ends here.

'but they must be in continual Council till you take farther 'order. So that the whole matter of their consideration also 'which regards them is at your disposal, as you shall see 'cause. And therefore I thought it my duty to acquaint 'you with thus much, to prevent distractions in your way: 'That things have been thus ordered; that your affairs will '"not stop, but" go on, "in the meanwhile,"—till you see 'cause to alter this Council; they having no authority or 'continuance of sitting, except simply until you take farther 'order.'*

The reader has now struggled through this First Speech of my Lord General's; not without astonishment to find that he has some understanding of it. The Editor has had his difficulties: but the Editor too is astonished to consider how such a Speech should have lain so long before the English Nation, asking, 'Is there no meaning whatever in me, then?' —with negatory response from almost all persons. Incompetent Reporters;—still more the obscene droppings of an extensive Owl-population, the accumulated *guano* of Human Stupor in the course of ages, do render Speeches unintelligible! It ought to be added, that my Lord General always spoke extempore; ready to speak, if his mind were full of meaning; very careless about the words he put it into. And never, except in one instance, which we shall by and by come upon, does he seem to have taken any charge as to what Report might be published of it. One of his Parliaments once asks him for a correct Report of a certain Speech, spoken some days before: he declares, 'He cannot remember four lines of it.'[1] It appears also that his meaning, much as Dryasdust

* *Milton State-Papers*, pp. 106-114: and *Parliamentary History*, xx. 153-175; which latter is identical with *Harleian Miscellany* (London, 1810), vi. 331-344. Our Report, in some cramp passages, which could not always be indicated without confusion, is a *tertium quid* between these two. Generally throughout we adhere to Milton's, which is the more concise, intelligible and everyway better Report.

[1] *Burton's Diary*. Postea, Speech XVII.

may wonder, was generally very well understood by his audience:—it was not till next generation, when the owl-droppings already lay thick, and Human Stupor had decidedly set in, that the cry of Unintelligibility was much heard of. Tones and looks do much;—yes, and the *having* a meaning in you is also a great help! Indeed, I fancy he must have been an opaque man to whom these utterances of such a man, all in a blaze with such a conviction of heart, had remained altogether dark.

The printed state of this Speech, and still more of some others, will impose hard duties on an Editor; which kind readers must take their share of. In the present case, it is surprising how little change has been needed, beyond the mere punctuation, and correct division into sentences. Not the slightest change of meaning has, of course, anywhere seemed, or shall anywhere seem, permissible; nor indeed the twentieth part of that kind of liberty which a skilful Newspaper Reporter takes with every speech he commits to print in our day.

A certain Critic, whom I sometimes cite from, but seldom without some reluctance, winds-up his multifarious Commentaries on the present Speech in the following extraordinary way:

'Intelligent readers,' says he, 'have found intelligibility in this Speech of Oliver's: but to one who has had to read it as a painful Editor, reading every fibre of it with magnifying-glasses, has to do,—it becomes all glowing with intelligibility, with credibility; with the splendour of genuine Veracity and heroic Depth and Manfulness;—and seems in fact, as Oliver's Speeches generally do, to an altogether singular degree, the express image of the soul it came from!—Is not this the end of all speaking, and wagging of the tongue in every conceivable sort, except the false and accursed sorts? Shall we call Oliver a *bad* Speaker, then; shall we not, in a very fundamental sense, call him a good Speaker?—

'Art of Speech? Art of Speech? The Art of Speech, I take it, will first of all be the art of having something genuine

to speak! Into what strange regions has it carried us, that same sublime "Art," taken up otherwise! One of the saddest bewilderments, when I look at all the bearings of it, nay properly the fountain of all the sad bewilderments, under which poor mortals painfully somnambulate in these generations. "I have made an excellent Speech about it, written an excellent Book about it,"—and there an end. How much better, hadst thou done a moderately good deed about it, and not had anything to speak at all! He who is about *doing* some mute veracity has a right to be heard speaking, and consulting of the doing of it; and properly no other has. The light of a man shining all as a paltry phosphorescence on the surface of him, leaving the interior dark, chaotic, sordid, dead-alive,—was once regarded as a most mournful phenomenon!

'False Speech is probably capable of being the falsest and most accursed of all things. False Speech; so false that it has not even the veracity to know that it is false,—as the poor commonplace *liar* still does! I have heard Speakers who gave rise to thoughts in me *they* were little dreaming of suggesting! Is man, then, no longer an "Incarnate Word," as Novalis calls him,—sent into this world to utter out of him, and by all means to make audible and visible what of *God's*-Message he has; sent hither and made alive even for that, and for no other definable object? Is there no sacredness, then, any longer, in the miraculous tongue of man? Is his head become a wretched cracked pitcher, on which you jingle to frighten crows, and make bees hive? He fills me with terror, this two-legged Rhetorical Phantasm! I could long for an Oliver without Rhetoric at all. I could long for a Mahomet, whose persuasive-eloquence, with wild-flashing heart and scimitar, is: "Wretched mortal, give up that; or by the Eternal, thy Maker and mine, I will kill thee! Thou blasphemous scandalous Misbirth of Nature, is not even that the kindest thing I can do for thee, if thou repent not and alter, in the name of Allah?"'—

LETTER CLXXXIX—CXCI

Concerning this Puritan Convention of the Notables, which in English History is called the *Little Parliament*, and derisively *Barebones's Parliament*, we have not much more to say. They are, if by no means the remarkablest Assembly, yet the Assembly for the remarkablest purpose who have ever met in the Modern World. The business is, No less than introducing of the Christian Religion into real practice in the Social Affairs of this Nation. Christian Religion, Scriptures of the Old and New Testament: such, for many hundred years, has been the universal solemnly recognised Theory of all men's Affairs; Theory sent down out of Heaven itself: but the question is now that of reducing it to Practice in said Affairs; —a most noble, surely, and most necessary attempt; which should not have been put off so long in this Nation! We have conquered the Enemies of Christ; let us now, in real practical earnest, set about doing the Commandments of Christ, now that there is free room for us! Such was the purpose of this Puritan Assembly of the Notables, which History calls the *Little Parliament*, or derisively *Barebones's Parliament*.

It is well known they failed: to us, alas, it is too evident they could not but fail. Fearful impediments lay against that effort of theirs: the sluggishness, the slavish half-and-halfness, the greediness, the cowardice, and general opacity and falsity of some ten million men against it;—alas, the whole world, and what we call the Devil and all his angels, against it! Considerable angels, human and other: most extensive arrangements, investments, to be sold-off at a tremendous sacrifice;— in general the entire set of luggage-traps and very extensive stock of merchant-goods and real and floating property, amassed by that assiduous Entity above mentioned, for a thousand years or more! For these, and also for other obstructions, it could not take effect at that time;—and the *Little Parliament*

became a *Barebones's Parliament*, and had to go its ways again.

Read these three Letters, two of them of small or no significance as to it or its affairs; and then let us hasten to the catastrophe.

LETTER CLXXXIX

THE Little Parliament has now sat some seven weeks; the dim old world of England, then in huge travail-throes, and somewhat of the Lord General's sad and great reflections thereon, may be dimly read here.

"FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL FLEETWOOD, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FORCES IN IRELAND: THESE"

Cockpit, 22d August 1653.

Dear Charles,—Although I do not so often as is desired by me acquaint you how it is with me, yet I doubt not of your prayers in my behalf, That in all things I may walk as becometh the Gospel.

Truly I never more needed all helps from my Christian Friends than now! Fain would I have my service accepted of the Saints, if the Lord will;—but it is not so. Being of different judgments, and "those" of each sort seeking most to propagate their own, that spirit of kindness that is[1] *to them all, is hardly accepted of any. I hope I can say it, My life has been a willing sacrifice,—and I hope,—for them* all. *Yet it much falls out as when the Two Hebrews were rebuked: you know upon whom they turned their displeasure!*[2]

But the Lord is wise; and will, I trust, make manifest that I am no enemy. Oh, how easy is mercy to be abused:—Persuade friends with you to be very sober! If the Day of the Lord be *so near as some say, how should our moderation*

[1] 'in me' modestly suppressed.

[2] 'And he,' the wrongdoer of the Two, 'said unto Moses, "Who made thee a Prince and a Judge over us? Intendest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian?"!' (Exodus ii. 14.)

appear! If every one, instead of contending, would justify his form "of judgment" by love and meekness, Wisdom would be 'justified of her children.' But, alas!——

I am, in my temptation, ready to say, 'Oh, would I had wings like a dove, then would I,' etc.:[1] *but this, I fear, is my 'haste.' I bless the Lord I have somewhat keeps me alive: some sparks of the light of His countenance, and some sincerity above man's judgment. Excuse me thus unbowelling myself to you: pray for me; and desire my Friends to do so also. My love to thy dear Wife,—whom indeed I entirely love, both naturally and upon the best account;—and my blessing, if it be worth anything, upon thy little Babe.*

Sir George Ayscough having occasions with you, desired my Letters to you on his behalf: if he come or send, I pray you show him what favour you can. Indeed his services have been considerable for the State; and I doubt he hath not been answered with suitable respect. Therefore again I desire you and the Commissioners to take him into a very particular care, and help him so far as justice and reason will anyways afford.

Remember my hearty affections to all the Officers. The Lord bless you all. So prayeth your truly loving father,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

*"P.S." All here love you, and are in health, your Children and all.**

LETTER CXC

In the Commons Journals,[2] while this Little Parliament sat,

[1] 'then would I fly away, and be at rest. Lo, then would I wander far off, and remain in the wilderness. I would hasten my escape from the windy storm and tempest!' (Psalm lv. 6, 7, 8.)

* Harleian MSS. no. 7502, f. 13: 'Copyed from the Original in ye hands of Mrs. Cook (Grandaughter to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood) of Newington, Middsex: Novr 5, 1759, by A. Gifford.' Printed, without reference, incorrectly, in *Annual Register* for 1761, p. 49; in *Gentleman's Magazine*, etc.—Appendix, No. 27.

[2] vii. 323, 23d September 1653.

we find that, among other good services, the arrangement of the Customs Department was new-modelled; that instead of Farmers of the Customs, there was a 'Committee' of the Parliament appointed to regulate and levy that impost: Committee appointed on the 23d of September 1653: among whom we recognise 'Alderman Ireton,' the deceased General's Brother; 'Mr. Mayor,' of Hursley, Richard Cromwell's Father-in-Law; 'Alderman Titchborne'; 'Colonel Montague,' afterwards Earl of Sandwich; and others. It is to this Committee that Oliver's Letter is addressed. It has no date of time: but as the Little Parliament ended, in Self-dissolution and Protectorship, on the 12th of December, the date of the Letter lies between the 23d September and that other limit. My Lord General,—who is himself a Member of the Parliament, he and his chief Officers having been forthwith invited to sit,—feels evidently that his recommendations, when grounded in justice, ought to be attended to.

FOR MY HONOURED FRIENDS, THE COMMITTEE FOR REGULATING THE CUSTOMS: THESE PRESENT

"Cockpit, October 1653."

Gentlemen,—I am sorry after recommendation of a Friend of mine the Bearer hereof,—considering him in relation to his poor Parents an object of pity and commiseration, yet well deserving and not less qualified for employment,—he should find such cold success amongst you.

His great necessities and my love once more invite me to write unto you, in his behalf, To bestow on him, if it may not be in the City by reason of multiplicity of suitors, a place in the Out-ports: and I doubt not but his utmost abilities will be improved to the faithful discharging of such trust as you shall impose on him, for the good of the Commonwealth. And thereby you will engage him who remains, your affectionate friend,

*OLIVER CROMWELL.**

* Letter genuine, *teste me*; reference unfortunately lost.

LETTER CXCI

THIS 'Henry Weston,' otherwise unknown to all Editors, is a Gentleman of Surrey; his 'House at Ockham,' not *Oakham*, is in the neighbourhood of Guildford in that County. So much, strangely enough, an old stone Tablet still legible in Ockham Church, which a beneficent hand has pointed out, enables me to say;—an authentic dim old Stone in Surrey, curiously reflecting light on a dim old Piece of Paper which has fluttered far about the world before it reached us here! 'Brother Ford,' I find by the same authority, is of knightly rank in Sussex: and Henry Weston's Father 'lieth buried in the Chancel of Speldhurst Church' in Kent; his Uncle, a childless man, resting here at Ockham, 'since the 8th day of July 1638, in the clymacteric of his age, 63.'[1]—'Reverend Mr. Draper' has not elsewhere come across me. Happily we can hope he officiates well in Kent; and read this Letter without other light.

FOR MY HONOURED FRIEND HENRY WESTON, ESQUIRE, AT HIS HOUSE IN OCKHAM: THESE

"London," 16th Nov. 1653.

Sir, my noble Friend,—Your Brother Ford was lately with me, acquainting me with my presumption in moving for, and your civility in granting, the Advowson of Speldhurst to one Mr. Draper, who is now incumbent there, and who, it seems, was there for three or four years before the death of the old incumbent, by virtue of a sequestration.

Sir, I had almost forgot upon what account I made thus bold with you; but now have fully recollected. I understand the person is very able and honest, well approved of by most of the good Ministers thereabout; and much desired by the honest people who are in a Religious Association in those

[1] Copy of the Inscription *penes me.*

parts.[1] *Wherefore I now most heartily own and thank you for your favour showed Mr. Draper for my sake; beseeching the continuance of your respects to the Gentleman,—who shall be very much tied to pay you all service; and so shall, in what lieth in his power, your affectionate friend to serve you,*

*OLIVER CROMWELL.**

And now to Parliament affairs again,—to the catastrophe now nigh.

On the whole, we have to say of this Little Parliament, that it sat for five months and odd days, very earnestly striving; earnestly, nobly,—and by no means unwisely, as the ignorant Histories teach. But the farther it advanced towards real Christianism in human affairs, the louder grew the shrieks of Sham-Christianism everywhere profitably lodged there;—and prudent persons, responsible for the issue, discovered that of a truth, for one reason or another, for reasons evident and for reasons not evident, there could be no success according to that method. We said, the History of this Little Parliament lay all buried very deep in the torpors of Human Stupidity, and was not likely ever to be brought into daylight in this world. In their five-months' time they passed various good Acts; chose, with good insight, a new Council of State; took wise charge of the needful Supplies; did all the routine business of a Parliament in a quite unexceptionable, or even in a superior manner. Concerning their Council of State, I find this Note; which, though the Council had soon to alter itself, and take new figures, may be worth appending here.[2]

[1] Has crossed-out 'thereabouts'; and written 'in those parts,' as preferable.

* Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 12,098. Original, in good preservation; with this indorsement in a newer hand: 'The Generell Cromwell's letter about Spelderst living;' and this Note appended: 'In an old Bible I had from England with other Books, March 1726.' Some Transatlantic Puritan, to all appearance.

[2] Council of State elected,—Tuesday 1st November 1653 (*Commons Journals*, vii. 344). The Election is by ballot, 113 Members present; 'Colonel Montague' (Sandwich), 'Colonel Cromwell' (Henry), and 'Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper,' are three of the Four Scrutineers. Among the Names reported as chosen, here

Routine business done altogether well by this Little Parliament. But, alas, they had decided on abolishing Tithes, on supporting a Christian Ministry by some other method than Tithes;—nay far worse, they had decided on abolishing the Court of Chancery! Finding grievances greater than could be borne; finding, for one thing, 'Twenty-three thousand Causes of from five to thirty years' continuance' lying undetermined in Chancery, it seemed to the Little Parliament that some Court ought to be contrived which would actually determine these and the like Causes;—and that, on the whole, Chancery would be better for abolition. Vote to that effect stands registered in the Commons Journals:[1] but still, for near two-hundred years now, only expects fulfilment.—So far as one can discover in the huge twilight of Dryasdust, it was mainly by this attack on the Lawyers, and attempt to abolish Chancery, that the Little Parliament perished. Tithes helped, no doubt; and the clamours of a safely-settled Ministry, Presbyterian-Royalist many of them. But the Lawyers exclaimed: 'Chancery? Law of the Bible? Do you mean to bring-in the *Mosaic Dispensation*, then; and deprive men of their properties? Deprive men of their properties; and us of our learned wigs and lucrative longwindednesses,—with your search for "Simple Justice" and "God's Law," instead of Learned-Sergeant's Law?'—There was immense 'carousing in the Temple' when this Parliament ended; as great tremors had been in the like quarters while it continued.[2]

are some, with the Numbers voting for them: Lord General Cromwell (113, one and all); Sir Gilbert Pickering (Poet Dryden's Cousin and Patron,—110); Desborow (74); Harrison (58); Mayor (of Hursley,—57); Colonel Montague (59); Ashley Cooper (60); Lord Viscount Lisle (Algernon Sidney's Brother,—58); Colonel Norton (idle Dick, recovered from the Pride's Purge again, but liable to relapse again,—57). The Council is of Thirty-one; Sixteen of the Old or Interim Council (above referred to in Cromwell's Speech) are to continue; Fifteen new: these mentioned here are all among the Old, whom the Lord General and his Officers had already nominated.

[1] vii. 296; 5th August 1653.

[2] *Exact Relation of the Transactions of the late Parliament*, by a Member of the same (London, 1654): reprinted in *Somers Tracts*, vi. 266-84.

But in brief, on Friday the 2d of December 1653, there came a 'Report from the Tithes-Committee,' recommending that Ministers of an incompetent, simoniacal, loose, or otherwise scandalous nature, plainly unfit to preach any Gospel to immortal creatures, should have a Travelling Commission of chosen Puritan Persons appointed, to travel into all Counties, and straightway inspect them, and eject them, and clear Christ's Church of them:—whereupon there ensued high debatings: Accept the Report, or Not accept it? High debatings, for the space of ten days; with Parliamentary manœuverings, not necessary to specify here. Which rose ever higher; and on Saturday the 10th, had got so high that, as I am credibly informed, certain leading persons went about colleaguing and consulting, instead of attending Public Worship on the Lord's-day:—and so, on Monday morning early, while the extreme Gospel Party had not yet assembled in the House, it was surreptitiously moved and carried, old Speaker Rouse somewhat treacherously assenting to it, 'That the sitting of this Parliament any longer, as now constituted, will not be for the good of the Commonwealth; and that therefore it is requisite to deliver-up unto the Lord General Cromwell the Powers which we received from him!' Whereupon, adds the same Rhadamanthine Record, 'the House rose; and the Speaker, with many of the Members of the House, departed out of the House to Whitehall: where they, being the greater number of the Members sitting in Parliament, did, by a Writing,' hastily redacted in the waiting-room there, and signed on separate bits of paper hastily wafered together, 'resign unto his Excellency their said Powers. And Mr. Speaker, attended by the Members, did present the same unto his Excellency accordingly,'—and retired into private life again.[1]

The Lord General Cromwell testified much emotion and

[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 363; *Exact Relation*, ubi supra; Whitlocke, p. 551, etc.

surprise at this result;—emotion and surprise which Dryasdust knows well how to interpret. In fact, the Lord General is responsible to England and Heaven for this result; and it is one of some moment! He and the established Council of State, 'Council of Officers and' non-established 'Persons of Interest in the Nation,' must consider what they will now do!

Clearly enough to them, and to us, there can only one thing be done: search be made, Whether there is any King, *Könning*, Canning, or Supremely Able-Man that you can fall-in with, to take charge of these conflicting and colliding elements, drifting towards swift wreck otherwise;—any 'Parish Constable,' as Oliver himself defines it, to bid good men keep the peace to one another. To your unspeakable good-luck, such Supremely Able-Man, King, Constable, or by whatever name you will call him, is already found,—known to all persons for years past: your Puritan Interest is not yet necessarily a wreck; but may still float, and do what farther is in it, while he can float!

From Monday onwards, the excitement of the public mind in old London and whithersoever the news went, in those winter days, must have been great. The 'Lord General called a Council of Officers and other Persons of Interest in the Nation,' as we said; and there was 'much seeking of God by prayer,' and abstruse advisings of this matter,—the matter being really great, and to some of us even awful! The dialogues, conferences and abstruse advisings are all lost; the result we know for certain. Monday was 12th of December; on Friday 16th, the result became manifest to all the world: That the ablest of Englishmen, Oliver Cromwell, was henceforth to be recognised for Supremely Able; and that the Title of him was to be Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with 'Instrument of Government,' 'Council of Fifteen or of Twenty-one,' and other necessary less important circumstances, of the like conceivable nature.

The Instrument of Government, a carefully constitutional

piece in Forty-two Articles; the Ceremony of Installation, transacted with due simplicity and much modest dignity, 'in the Chancery Court in Westminster Hall,' that Friday afternoon;—the chair of state, the Judges in their robes, Lord Mayors with caps of maintenance; the state-coaches, outriders, outrunners, and 'great shoutings of the people'; the procession from and to Whitehall, and 'Mr. Lockier the Chaplain's Exhortation' to us there: these, with the inevitable adjuncts of the case, shall be conceived by ingenious readers, or read in innumerable Pamphlets and Books,[1] and omitted here. 'His Highness was in a rich but plain suit; black velvet, with cloak of the same: about his hat a broad band of gold.' Does the reader see him? A rather likely figure, I think. Stands some five feet ten or more; a man of strong solid stature, and dignified, now partly military carriage: the expression of him valour and devout intelligence,—energy and delicacy on a basis of simplicity. Fifty-four years old, gone April last; ruddy-fair complexion, bronzed by toil and age; light-brown hair and moustache are getting streaked with gray. A figure of sufficient impressiveness;—not lovely to the manmilliner species, nor pretending to be so. Massive stature; big massive head, of somewhat leonine aspect, 'evident workshop and storehouse of a vast treasury of natural parts.' Wart above the right eyebrow; nose of considerable blunt-aquiline proportions; strict yet copious lips, full of all tremulous sensibilities, and also, if need were, of all fiercenesses and rigours; deep loving eyes, call them grave, call them stern, looking from under those craggy brows, as if in lifelong sorrow, and yet not thinking it sorrow, thinking it only labour and endeavour:—on the whole, a right noble lion-face and hero-face; and to me royal enough.[2] The reader, in his mind, shall conceive this event and its figures.

[1] Whitlocke, pp. 552-61; Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 131, in *Parliamentary History*, xx.); etc. etc.

[2] Maidston's Letter to Winthrop, in Thurloe, i. 763-8; Cooper's Portraits; Mask of Cromwell's Face (in the Statuaries' Shops).

Conceived too, or read elsewhere than here, shall Dryasdust's multifarious unmelodious commentaries be,—and likewise Anti-Dryasdust's; the two together cancelling one another; and amounting pretty well, by this time, to *zero* for us. 'Love of power,' as flunkies love it, remains the one credibility for Dryasdust; and will forever remain. To the valet-soul how will you demonstrate that, in this world, there is or was anything heroic? You cannot do it; you need not try to do it.—I cite with some reluctance from a Manuscript Author, often enough referred to here, the following detached sentences, and so close this Seventh Part.

'Dryasdust knows not the value of a King,' exclaims he; 'the bewildered mortal has forgotten it. Finding Kings'-cloaks so cheap, hung out on every hedge, and paltry as beggars' gabardines, he says, "What use is in a King? This King's-cloak, if this be your King, is naught!"—

'Power? Love of power? Does "power" mean the faculty of giving places, of having newspaper paragraphs, of being waited on by sycophants? To ride in gilt coaches, escorted by the flunkyisms and most sweet voices,—I assure thee, it is not the Heaven of all, but only of many! Some born Kings I myself have known, of stout natural limbs, who, in shoes of moderately good fit, found quiet *walking* handier; and crowned themselves, almost too sufficiently, by putting on their own private hat, with some spoken or speechless, "God enable me to be King of what lies under this! For Eternities lie under it, and Infinitudes, and Heaven also and Hell. And it is as big as the Universe, this Kingdom; and I am to conquer it, or be forever conquered by it, now while it is called Today!"—

'The love of "power," if thou understand what to the manful heart "power" signifies, is a very noble and indispensable love. And here and there, in the outer world too, there is a due throne for the noble man;—which let him see well that he seize, and valiantly defend against all men and things. God gives it him; let no Devil take it away. Thou also art

called by the God's-message: This, if thou canst read the Heavenly omens and dare do them, this work is *thine*. Voiceless, or with no articulate voice, Occasion, god-sent, rushes storming on, amid the world's events; swift, perilous; like a whirlwind, like a fleet lightning-steed: manfully thou shalt clutch it by the mane, and vault into thy seat on it, and ride and guide there, thou! Wreck and ignominious overthrow, if thou have dared when the Occasion was *not* thine· everlasting scorn to thee if thou dare not when it is;—if the cackling of Roman geese and Constitutional ganders, if the clack of human tongues and leading-articles, if the steel of armies and the crack of Doom deter thee, when the voice *was* God's!—Yes, this too is in the law for a man, my poor quack-ridden, bewildered Constitutional friends; and we ought to remember this withal. *Thou shalt* is written upon Life in characters as terrible as *Thou shalt not*,—though poor Dryasdust reads almost nothing but the latter hitherto.'

And so we close Part Seventh; and proceed to trace with all piety, what faint authentic vestiges of Oliver's Protectorate the envious Stupidities have not obliterated for us.

John Milton.

PART EIGHTH

FIRST PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT

[illegible]

LETTERS CXCII—CXCV

The 3d of September [illegible] Worcester Battle has been kept as a Day of Thanksgiving; [illegible] of the Army at Dunbar in 1650, and of the [illegible] which followed next year; — a memorable day for the Commonwealth of England. By Article Seventh of the Instrument of Government, it is now farther provided that a Parliament shall meet on that auspicious Anniversary when it next comes round. September 3d, 1654, then shall the First Protectorate Parliament meet; successive Parliaments, one at least every Three years, are to follow, but this shall be the First. Not to be dissolved, or prorogued, for at least Five months. Free Parliament of Four-hundred; for England Three-hundred-and-forty, for Scotland Thirty, for Ireland Thirty; fairly chosen by election of the People, according to rules anxiously constitutional, laid down in that same Instrument,—which we do not dwell upon here. Smaller Boroughs are excluded; among Counties and larger Boroughs is a more equable division of representatives according to their population: nobody to vote that has not some clearly visible property to the value of Two-hundred Pounds; but all that have can vote, and can be voted for,—except, of course, all such as have appeared against the Parliament in any of these Wars 'since the First of January 1642,' and 'not since given signal

PART EIGHTH

FIRST PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT

1654

LETTERS CXCII—CXCV

THE 3d of September ever since Worcester Battle has been kept as a Day of Thanksgiving; commemorative of the mercy at Dunbar in 1650, and of the crowning-mercy which followed next year;—a memorable day for the Commonwealth of England. By Article Seventh of the Instrument of Government, it is now farther provided that a Parliament shall meet on that auspicious Anniversary when it next comes round. September 3d, 1654, then shall the First Protectorate Parliament meet; successive Parliaments, one at least every Three years, are to follow, but this shall be the First. Not to be dissolved, or prorogued, for at least Five months. Free Parliament of Four-hundred; for England Three-hundred-and-forty, for Scotland Thirty, for Ireland Thirty; fairly chosen by election of the People, according to rules anxiously constitutional, laid down in that same Instrument,—which we do not dwell upon here. Smaller Boroughs are excluded; among Counties and larger Boroughs is a more equable division of representatives according to their population: nobody to vote that has not some clearly visible property to the value of Two-hundred Pounds; but all that have can vote, and can be voted for,—except, of course, all such as have appeared against the Parliament in any of these Wars 'since the First of January 1642,' and 'not since given signal

testimony' of their repenting that step. To appearance, a very reasonable Reform Bill;—understood to be substantially the same with that invaluable measure once nearly completed by the Rump: only with this essential difference, That the Rump Members are not now to sit by nature and without election; not now to decide, they, in case of extremity, Thou shalt sit, Thou shalt not sit;—others than they will now decide that, in cases of extremity. How this Parliament, in its Five-months' Session, will welcome the new Protector and Protectorate is naturally the grand question during those Nine or Ten Months that intervene.

A question for all Englishmen; and most of all for Oliver Protector;—who however, as we can perceive, does not allow it to overawe him very much; but diligently doing this day the day's duties, hopes he may find, as God has often favoured him to do, some good solution for the morrow, whatsoever the morrow please to be. A man much apt to be overawed by any question that is smaller than Eternity, or by any danger that is lower than God's Displeasure, would not suit well in Oliver's place at present! Perhaps no more perilous place, that I know clearly of, was ever deliberately accepted by a man. 'The post of honour,'—the post of terror and of danger and forlorn-hope: this man has all along been used to occupy such.

To see a little what kind of England it was, and what kind of incipient Protectorate it was, take, as usual, the following small and few fractions of Authenticity, of various complexion, fished from the doubtful slumber-lakes and dust-vortexes, and hang them out at their places in the void night of things. They are not very luminous; but if they were well let alone, and the positively tenebrific were well forgotten, they might assist our imaginations in some slight measure.

Sunday 18*th December* 1653. A certain loud-tongued loud-minded Mr. Feak, of Anabaptist-Leveller persuasion, with a Colleague, seemingly Welsh, named Powel, have a Preaching-

Establishment, this good while past, in Blackfriars; a Preaching-Establishment every Sunday, which on Monday Evening becomes a National-Charter Convention as we should now call it: there Feak, Powel and Company are in the habit of vomiting forth from their own inner-man, into other inner-men greedy of such pabulum, a very flamy fuliginous set of doctrines,—such as the human mind, superadding Anabaptistry to Sansculottism, can make some attempt to conceive. Sunday the 18th, which is two days after the Lord Protector's Installation, this Feak-Powel Meeting was unusually large; the Feak-Powel inner-man unusually charged. Elements of soot and fire really copious; fuliginous-flamy in a very high degree! At a time, too, when all Doctrine does not satisfy itself with spouting, but longs to become instant Action. 'Go and tell your Protector,' said the Anabaptist Prophet, That he has deceived the Lord's People; 'that he is a perjured villain,'—'will not reign long,' or I am deceived; 'will end worse than the last Protector did,' Protector Somerset who died on the scaffold, or the tyrant Crooked Richard himself! Say, I said it!—A very foul chimney indeed, here got on fire. And 'Major-General Harrison, the most eminent man of the Anabaptist Party, being consulted whether he would own the new Protectoral Government, answered frankly, No';—was thereupon ordered to retire home to Staffordshire, and keep quiet.[1]

Does the reader bethink him of those old Leveller Corporals at Burford, and Diggers at St. George's Hill five years ago; of Quakerisms, Calvinistic Sansculottisms, and one of the strangest Spiritual Developments ever seen in any country? The reader sees here one foul chimney on fire, the Feak-Powel chimney in Blackfriars; and must consider for himself what masses of combustible material, noble fuel and base soot and smoky explosive fire-damp, in the general English Household it communicates with! Republicans Proper, of the Long Parliament; Republican Fifth-Monarchists of the Little

[1] Thurloe, i. 641;—442, 591, 621.

Parliament; the solid Ludlows, the fervent Harrisons: from Harry Vane down to Christopher Feak, all manner of Republicans find Cromwell unforgivable. To the Harrison-and-Feak species Kingship in every sort, and government of man by man, is carnal, expressly contrary to various Gospel Scriptures. Very horrible for a man to think of governing men;—whether he ought even to govern cattle, and drive them to field and to needful penfold, 'except in the way of love and persuasion,' seems doubtful to me! But fancy a Reign of Christ and his Saints; Christ and his Saints just about to come,—had not Oliver Cromwell stept in and prevented it! The reader discerns combustibilities enough; conflagrations, plots, stubborn disaffections and confusions, on the Republican and Republican-Anabaptist side of things. It is the first Plot-department, which my Lord Protector will have to deal with, all his life long. This he must wisely damp-down, as he may. Wisely: for he knows what is noble in the matter, and what is base in it; and would not sweep the fuel and the soot both out of doors at once.

Tuesday 14*th February* 1653-4. 'At the Ship-Tavern in the Old Bailey, kept by Mr. Thomas Amps,' we come upon the second life-long Plot-department: Eleven truculent, rather threadbare persons, sitting over small drink there, on the Tuesday night, considering how the Protector might be assassinated. Poor broken Royalist men; payless Old-Captains, most of them, or suchlike; with their steeple-hats worn very brown, and jack-boots slit,—and projects that cannot be executed. Mr. Amps knows nothing of them, except that they came to him to drink; nor do we. Probe them with questions; clap them in the Tower for a while:[1] Guilty, poor knaves; but not worth hanging:—disappear again into the general mass of Royalist Plotting, and ferment there.

The Royalists have lain quiet ever since Worcester; waiting what issue matters would take. Dangerous to meddle with a Rump Parliament, or other steadily regimented thing; safer

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 135).

if you can find it fallen out of rank; hopefulest of all, when it collects itself into a Single Head. The Royalists judge, with some reason, that if they could kill Oliver Protector, this Commonwealth were much endangered. In these Easter weeks too, or Whitsun weeks, there comes 'from our Court' (Charles Stuart's Court) 'at Paris,' great encouragement to all men of spirit in straitened circumstances. A Royal Proclamation 'By the King,' drawn up, say some, by Secretary Clarendon; setting forth that 'Whereas a certain base mechanic fellow, by name Oliver Cromwell, has usurped our throne,' much to our and other people's inconvenience, whosoever will kill the said mechanic fellow 'by sword, pistol or poison,' shall have 500*l.* a-year settled upon him, with colonelcies in our Army, and other rewards suitable, and be a made man,—'on the word and faith of a Christian King.'[1] A Proclamation which cannot be circulated except in secret; but is well worth reading by all loyal men. And so Royalist Plots also succeed one another, thick and threefold through Oliver's whole life; —but cannot take effect. Vain for a Christian King and his cunningest Chancellors to summon all the Sinners of the Earth, and whatsoever of necessitous Truculent-Flunkyism there may be, and to bid, in the name of Heaven and of Another place, for the head of Oliver Cromwell: once for all, they cannot have it, that Head of Cromwell;—not till *he* has entirely done with it, and can make them welcome to their benefit from it! We shall come upon these Royalist Plots, Rebellion Plots and Assassin Plots, in the order of time; and have to mention them, though with brevity. Oliver Protector, I suppose, understands and understood his Protectorship moderately well, and what Plots and other Hydra-coils were inseparable from it; and contrives to deal with these too, like a conscientious man, and not like a hungry slave.

Secretary Thurloe, once St. John's Secretary in Holland, has come now, ever since the Little-Parliament time, into decided action as Oliver's Secretary, or the State Secretary; one of

[1] Thurloe, ii. 248. 'Given at Paris, 3d May (23d April by old style) 1654.'

the expertest Secretaries, in the real meaning of the word Secretary, any State or working King could have. He deals with all these Plots; it is part of his function, supervised by his Chief. Mr. John Milton, we all lament to know, has fallen blind in the Public Service; lives now in Bird-cage Walk, still doing a little when called upon; bating no jot of heart or hope. Mr. Milton's notion is, That this Protectorate of his Highness Oliver was a thing called for by the Necessities and the Everlasting Laws; and that his Highness ought now to quit himself like a Christian Hero in it, as in other smaller things he has been used to do.[1]

March 20th, 1653-4. By the Instrument of Government, the Lord Protector with his Council,[2] till once the First Parliament were got together, was empowered not only to raise moneys for the needful supplies, but also 'to make Laws and Ordinances for the peace and welfare of these Nations'; which latter faculty he is by no means slack to exercise. Of his 'Sixty Ordinances' passed in this manner before the Parliament met, which are well approved of by good judges, we cannot here afford to say much: but there is one bearing date as above, which must not be omitted. First Ordinance

[1] *Defensio Secunda.*

[2] Fifteen in number, which he may enlarge to Twenty-one, if he see good. Not removable any of them, except by himself with advice of the rest. A very remarkable Majesty's Ministry;—of which, for its own sake and the Majesty's, take this List, as it stood in 1654:

Philip Viscount Lisle (Algernon Sidney's Brother); Fleetwood; Lambert; Montague (of Hinchinbrook); Desborow (Protector's Brother-in-law); Ashley Cooper (Earl of Shaftesbury afterwards); Walter Strickland (Member for Minehead in the Long Parliament, once Ambassador in Holland); Colonel Henry Lawrence (for Westmoreland in the Long Parliament, of whom we have transiently heard,—became *President* of the Council); Mayor (of Hursley); Francis Rouse (our old friend); pious old Major-General Skippon; Colonels Philip Jones and Sydenham, Sirs Gilbert Pickering and Charles Wolseley, of whom my readers do not know much. Fifteen Councillors in all. To whom Nathaniel Fiennes (son of Lord Say and Sele) was afterwards added; with the Earl of Mulgrave; and another, Colonel Mackworth, who soon died (*Thurloe*, iii. 581). Thurloe is Secretary; and blind Milton, now with assistants, is Latin Secretary.

relating to the Settlement of a Gospel Ministry in this Nation; Ordinance of immense interest to Puritan England at that time. An object which has long been on the anvil, this same 'Settlement'; much laboured at, and striven for, ever since the Long Parliament began: and still, as all confess, no tolerable result has been attained. Yet is it not the greatest object; properly the soul of all these struggles and confused wrestlings and battlings, since we first met here? For the thing men are taught, or get to *believe*, that is the thing they will infallibly *do*; the kind of 'Gospel' you settle, kind of 'Ministry' you settle, or do not settle, the root of all is there! Let us see what the Lord Protector can accomplish in this business.

Episcopacy being put down, and Presbytery not set up, and Church-Government for years past being all a Church-Anarchy, the business is somewhat difficult to deal with. The Lord Protector, as we find, takes it up in simplicity and integrity, intent upon the real heart or practical outcome of it; and makes a rather satisfactory arrangement. Thirty-eight chosen Men, the acknowledged Flower of English Puritanism, are nominated by this Ordinance of the 20th of March,[1] nominated a Supreme Commission for the Trial of Public Preachers. Any person pretending to hold a Church-living, or levy tithes or clergy-dues in England, has first to be tried and approved by these men. Thirty-eight, as Scobell teaches us: nine are Laymen, our friend old Francis Rouse at the head of them; twenty-nine are Clergy. His Highness, we find, has not much inquired of what Sect they are; has known them to be Independents, to be Presbyterians, one or two of them to be even Anabaptists;—has been careful only of one characteristic, That they were men of wisdom, and had the root of the matter in them. Owen, Goodwin, Sterry, Marshall, Manton, and others not yet quite unknown to men, were among these Clerical *Triers*: the acknowledged Flower of Spiritual England at that time; and intent, as Oliver

[1] Scobell, ii. 279-80.

himself was, with an awful earnestness, on actually having the Gospel taught to England.

This is the First branch or limb of Oliver's scheme for Church-Government, this Ordinance of the 20th March 1653-4. A second, which completes what little he could do in the matter at present, developed itself in August following By this August Ordinance,[1] a Body of Commissioners, distinguished Puritan Gentry, distinguished Puritan Clergy, are nominated in all Counties of England, from Fifteen to Thirty in each County; who are to inquire into 'scandalous, ignorant, insufficient,' and otherwise deleterious alarming Ministers of the Gospel; to be a tribunal for judging, for detecting, ejecting them (only in case of ejection, if they have wives, let some small modicum of living be allowed them): and to sit there, judging and sifting, till gradually all is sifted clean, and can be kept clean. This is the Second branch of Oliver's form of Church-Government: this, with the other Ordinance, makes at last a kind of practicable Ecclesiastical Arrangement for England.

A very republican arrangement, such as could be made on the sudden; contains in it, however, the germ or essence of all conceivable arrangements, that of worthy men to judge of the worth of men;—and was found in practice to work well. As, indeed, any arrangement will work well, when the men in it have the root of the matter at heart; and, alas, all arrangements, when the men in them have not, work ill and not well! Of the Lay Commissioners, from fifteen to thirty in each County, it is remarked that not a few are political enemies of Oliver's: friends or enemies of his, Oliver hopes they are men of pious probity, and friends to the Gospel in England. My Lord General Fairfax, the Presbyterian; Thomas Scott, of the Long Parliament, the fanatical Republican; Lords Wharton, Say, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Colonel Robert Blake, Mayor of Hursley, Dunch of Pusey, Montague of Hinchinbrook, and other persons known to us,—

[1] 28th August 1654 (Scobell, ii. 335-47).

are of these Commissioners. Richard Baxter, who seldom sat, is one of the Clergy for his County: he testifies, not in the willingest manner, being no friend to Oliver, That these Commissioners, of one sort and the other, with many faults, did sift out the deleterious alarming Ministers of the Gospel, and put-in the salutary in their stead, with very considerable success,—giving us 'able, serious Preachers, who lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were'; so that 'many thousands of souls blessed God' for what they had done; and grieved sore when, with the return of the Nell-Gwynn Defender, and his Four Surplices or what remained of them, it was undone again.[1] And so with these *Triers* and these Expurgators both busy, and a faithful eye to watch their procedure, we will hope the Spiritual Teaching-Apparatus of England stood now on a better footing than usual, and actually succeeded in teaching somewhat.

Of the Lord Protector's other Ordinances; Ordinance 'declaring the Law of Treason,' Ordinances of finance, of Amnesty for Scotland, of Union with Scotland, and other important matters, we must say nothing. One elaborate Ordinance, in 'sixty-seven Articles,' for 'Reforming the Court of Chancery,' will be afterwards alluded to with satisfaction, by the Lord Protector himself. Elaborate Ordinance; containing essential improvements, say some;—which has perhaps saved the Court of Chancery from abolition for a while longer! For the rest, 'not above Two-hundred Hackney-coaches' shall henceforth be allowed to ply in this Metropolis and six miles round it; the ever-increasing number of them, blocking up our thoroughfares, threatens to become insupportable.[2]

April 14*th*, 1654. This day, let it be noted for the sake of poor Editors concerned with undated Letters, and others, his Highness removed from his old Lodging in the Cockpit, into new properly Royal Apartments in Whitehall, now ready

[1] Baxter's *Life*, part i. p. 72.

[2] Scobell, ii. 313; Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 139).

for him,[1] and lived there henceforth, usually going out to Hampton Court on the Saturday afternoon. He has 'assumed somewhat of the state of a King'; due ceremonial, decent observance beseeming the Protector of the Commonwealth of England; life-guards, ushers, state-coaches,—in which my erudite friend knows well what delight this Lord Protector had! Better still, the Lord Protector has concluded good Treaties; received congratulatory Embassies,—France, Spain itself have sent Embassies. Treaty with the Dutch, with Denmark, Sweden, Portugal:[2] all much to our satisfaction. Of the Portuguese Treaty there will perhaps another word be said. As for the Swedish, this, it is well known, was managed by our learned friend Bulstrode at Upsal itself; whose Narrative of that formidable Embassy exists, a really curious life-picture by our Pedant friend; whose qualities are always fat and good;—whose parting from poor Mrs. Whitlocke at Chelsea, in those interesting circumstances, may be said to resemble that of Hector from Andromache, in some points.

And now for our Four small Letters, for our First Protectorate Parliament, without waste of another word!

LETTER CXCII

FOR MY LOVING BROTHER RICHARD MAYOR, ESQUIRE, AT HURSLEY, IN HAMPSHIRE: THESE

"Whitehall," 4th May 1654.

Dear Brother,—I received your loving Letter; for which I thank you: and surely were it fit to proceed in that Business, you should not in the least have been put upon anything but the trouble; for indeed the land in Essex, with some money in my hand, should have gone towards it.

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 139).

[2] Dutch Treaty signed, 5th April 1654; Swedish, 28th April; Portuguese, 10th July; Danish Claims settled, 31st July (Godwin, iv. 49-56).

But indeed I am so unwilling to be a seeker after the world, having had so much favour from the Lord in giving me so much without seeking; and "am" so unwilling that men should think me so, which they will though you only appear in it (for they will, by one means or other, know it),—that indeed I dare not meddle nor proceed therein. Thus I have told you my plain thoughts.

My hearty love I present to you and my Sister, my blessing and love to dear Doll and the little one. With love to all, I rest, your loving brother,

*OLIVER P.**

A 'business' seemingly of making an advantageous purchase of land for Richard; which Mayor will take all the trouble of, and even advance the money for; but which Oliver P., for good reasons given, 'dare not meddle with.' No man can now guess what land it was,—nor need much. In the Pamphletary dust-mountains is a confused story of Cornet Joyce's,[1] concerning Fawley Park in Hampshire; which, as the dim dateless indications point to the previous winter or summer, and to the 'Lord General Cromwell' as looking towards that property for his Son Richard,—may be the place, for aught we know! The story sets forth, with the usual bewildered vivacity of Joyce: How Joyce, the same who took the King at Holmby, and is grown now a noisy Anabaptist and Lieutenant-Colonel,—how Joyce, I say, was partly minded and fully entitled to purchase Fawley Park, and Richard Cromwell was minded and not fully entitled · how Richard's Father thereupon dealt treacherously with the said Joyce; spake softly to him, then quarrelled with him, menaced him (owing to Fawley Park); nay ended by flinging him into prison, and almost reducing him to his needle and

* Noble, i. 330; Harris, p. 515:—one of the Pusey Letters.

[1] *True Narrative of the Causes of the Lord-General Cromwell's anger and indignation against Lieutenant-Colonel George Joyce:* reprinted (without date) in *Harleian Miscellany*, v. 557, etc.—Joyce 'is *in* jail,' 19th September 1653 (Thurloe, i. 470).

thimble again,—greatly to the enragement and distraction of the said Joyce. All owing to Fawley Park, thinks Joyce and prints;—so that my Lord Protector, if this Park be the place, is very wise 'not to meddle or proceed therein.' And so we leave it.

LETTER CXCIII

MONK, in these summer months, has a desultory kind of Rebellion in the Highlands, Glencairn's or Middleton's Rebellion, to deal with; and is vigorously coercing and strangling it. Colonel Alured, an able officer, but given to Anabaptist notions, has been sent into Ulster to bring over certain forces to assist Monk. His loose tongue, we find, has disclosed designs or dispositions in him which seem questionable. The Lord Protector sees good to revoke his Commission to Alured, and order him up to Town.

"TO THE LORD FLEETWOOD, LORD DEPUTY OF IRELAND: THESE"

"Whitehall," 16th May 1654.

Sir,—By the Letter I received from you, and by the information of the Captain you sent to me, I am sufficiently satisfied of the evil intentions of Colonel Alured; and by some other considerations amongst ourselves, tending to the making-up a just suspicion,—by the advice of friends here, I do revoke Colonel Alured from that Employment.

Wherefore I desire you to send for him to return to you to Dublin; and that you cause him to deliver up the Instructions and Authorities into your hands, which he hath in reference to that Business; as also such moneys and accounts concerning the same,—according to the Letter, herein enclosed, directed to him, which I entreat you to deliver when he comes to you.

I desire "you" also, to the end the Service may not be neglected, nor "for" one day stand, it being of so great concernment, To employ some able Officer to assist in Colonel

Alured's room, until the men be shipped-off for their design. We purpose also, God willing, to send one very speedily who, we trust, shall meet them at the place, to command in chief. As for provision of victual and other necessaries, we shall hasten them away; desiring that these Forces may by no means stay in Ireland; because we purpose they shall meet their provision in the place they are designed "for."

If any farther discovery be with you about any other passages on Colonel Alured's part, I pray examine them, and speed them to us; and send Colonel Alured over hither with the first opportunity. Not having more upon this subject at present, I rest, your loving father,

OLIVER P.

*"P.S." I desire you that the Officer, whom you appoint to assist the shipping of the Forces, may have the money in Colonel Alured's hands, for carrying on the Service; and also that he may leave what remains at Carrickfergus for the Commander-in-Chief, who shall call for it there.**

This is the Enclosure above spoken of:

LETTER CXCIV

"TO COLONEL ALURED · THESE"

"Whitehall," 16th May 1654.

Sir,—I desire you to deliver-up into the hands of Lieutenant-General Fleetwood such Authorities and Instructions as you had for the prosecution of the Business of the Highlands in Scotland; and "that" you forthwith repair to me to London; the reason whereof you shall know when you come hither, which I would have you do with all speed. I would have you also give an account to the Lieutenant-General, before you come away, how far you have proceeded in this Service, and what money you have in your hands, which you are to leave with him. I rest, your loving friend,

OLIVER P.†

* Thurloe, ii. 285.

† *Ibid.* ii. 286.

This Colonel Alured is one of several Yorkshire Alureds somewhat conspicuous in these wars; whom we take to be Nephews or Sons of the valuable Mr. Alured or Ald'red who wrote to 'old Mr. Chamberlain,'—in the last generation, one morning, during the Parliament of 1628, when certain honourable Gentlemen held their Speaker down,—a Letter which we thankfully read.[1] One of them, John, was Member in this Long Parliament; a Colonel too, and King's Judge; who is now dead. Here is another, Colonel Matthew Alured, a distinguished soldier and republican; who is not dead; but whose career of usefulness is here ended. 'Repairing forthwith to London,' to the vigilant Lord Protector, he gives what account he can of himself; none that will hold water, I perceive; lingers long under a kind of arrest 'at the Mews' or elsewhere; soliciting either freedom and renewed favour, or a fair trial and punishment; gets at length committal to the Tower, trial by Court Martial,—dismissal from the service.[2] A fate like that of several others in a similar case to his.—Poor Alured! But what could be done with him? He had Republican Anabaptist notions; he had discontents, enthusiasms, which might even ripen into tendencies to correspond with Charles Stuart. Who knows if putting him in a stone waistcoat, and general strait-waistcoat of a mild form, was not the mercifulest course that could be taken with him?

He must stand here as the representative to us of one of the fatalest elements in the new Lord Protector's position: the Republican discontents and tendencies to plot, fermenting in his own Army. Of which we shall perhaps find elsewhere room to say another word. Republican Overton, Milton's friend, whom we have known at Hull and elsewhere; Okey, the fierce dragoon Colonel and zealous Anabaptist; Alured, whom we see here; Ludlow, sitting sulky in Ireland: all these are already summoned up, or about being summoned, to give

[1] Vol. i. p. 60 et seq.

[2] Whitlocke, pp. 499, 510; Thurloe, ii. 294, 313, 414; Burton's *Diary* (London, 1828), iii. 46; *Commons Journals*, vii. 678.

account of themselves. Honourable, brave and faithful men: it is, as Oliver often says, the saddest thought of his heart that he must have old friends like them for enemies! But he cannot help it; they will have it so. They must go their way, he his.

Much need of vigilance in this Protector! Directly on the back of these Republican commotions come out Royalist ones; with which, however, the Protector is less straitened to deal. Lord Deputy Fleetwood has not yet received his Letter at Dublin, when here in London emerges a Royalist Plot; the first of any gravity; known in the old Books and State-Trials as *Vowel and Gerard's Plot*, or *Somerset Fox's Plot*. Plot for assassinating the Protector, as usual. Easy to do it, as he goes to Hampton Court on a Saturday,—Saturday the 20th of May, for example. Provide thirty stout men; and do it then. Gerard, a young Royalist Gentleman, connected with Royalist Colonels afterwards Earls of Macclesfield,—he will provide Five-and-twenty; some Major Henshaw, Colonel Finch, or I know not who, shall bring the other Five. 'Vowel a Schoolmaster at Islington, who taught many young gentlemen,' strong for Church and King, cannot act in the way of shooting; busies himself consulting, and providing arms. 'Billingsley the Butcher in Smithfield,' he, aided by Vowel, could easily 'seize the Troopers' horses grazing in Islington fields'; while others of us unawares fall upon the soldiers at the Mews? Easy then to proclaim King Charles in the City; after which Prince Rupert arriving with 'Ten-thousand Irish, English, and French,' and all the Royalists rising,—the King should have his own again, and we were all made men; and Oliver once well killed, the Commonwealth itself were as good as dead! Saturday the 20th of May; then, say our Paris expresses, then!—

Alas, in the very birthtime of the hour, 'five of the Conspirators are seized in their beds'; Gerard, Vowel, all the leaders are seized; Somerset Fox confesses for his life; whosoever is guilty can be seized: and the Plot is like water

spilt upon the ground![1] A High Court of Justice must decide upon it; and with Gerard and Vowel it will probably go hard.

LETTER CXCV

REFERS to a small private or civic matter: the Vicarage of Christ-Church, Newgate Street, the patronage of which belongs to 'the Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of London as Governors of the Royal Hospital of St. Bartholomew' ever since Henry the Eighth's time.[2] The former Incumbent, it would seem, had been removed by the Council of State; some Presbyterian probably, who was, not without cause, offensive to them. If now the Electors and the State could both agree on Mr. Turner,—it would 'silence' several questions, thinks the Lord Protector. Whether they did agree? Who 'Mr. Turner,' of such 'repute for piety and learning,' was? These are questions.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS VYNER, KNIGHT, LORD MAYOR OF LONDON: THESE

"Whitehall," 5th July 1654.

My Lord Mayor,—It is not my custom now, nor shall be, without some special cause moving, to interpose anything to the hindrance of any in the free course of their presenting persons to serve in the Public Ministry.

But, well considering how much it concerns the public peace, and what an opportunity may be had of promoting the interest of the Gospel, if some eminent and fit person of a pious and peaceable spirit and conversation were placed in Christ-Church, —and though I am not ignorant what interest the State may justly challenge to supply that place, which by an Order of State is become void, notwithstanding any resignation that is made:

[1] French Le Bas dismissed for his share in it: Appendix, No. 28.
[2] Elmes's *Topographical Dictionary of London*, in voce.

Yet forasmuch as your Lordship and the rest of the Governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital are about to present thereunto a person of known nobility and integrity before you, namely Mr. Turner, I am contented, if you think good so to improve the present opportunity as to present him *to the place, to have all other questions silenced;—which will not alone be the fruit thereof; but I believe also the true good of the Parish therein concerned will be thereby much furthered. I rest, your assured friend,*

OLIVER P.

"*P.S.*" *I can assure you few men of his time in England have a better repute for piety and learning than Mr. Turner.**

I am apt to think the Mr. Turner in question may have been Jerom Turner, of whom there is record in Wood:[1] a Somersetshire man, distinguished among the Puritans; who takes refuge in Southampton, and preaches with zeal, learning, piety and general approbation during the Wars there. He afterwards removed 'to Neitherbury, a great country Parish in Dorsetshire,' and continued there, 'doing good in his zealous way.' If this were he, the Election did not take effect according to Oliver's program;—perhaps Jerom himself declined it? He died, still at Neitherbury, next year; hardly yet past middle age. 'He had a strong memory, which he maintained good to the last by temperance,' says old Antony: 'He was well skilled in Greek and Hebrew, was a fluent preacher, but too much addicted to Calvinism,'—which is to be regretted. '*Pastor vigilantissimus, doctrinâ et pietate insignis*': so has his Medical Man characterised him; one 'Dr. Loss of Dorchester,' who kept a Note-book in those days. *Requiescat, requiescant.*

The High Court of Justice has sat upon Vowel and Gerard;

* Lansdowne MSS. 1236, fol. 104. The Signature alone of the Letter is Oliver's; but he has added the Postscript in his own hand.

[1] *Athenæ*, iii. 404.

found them both guilty of High Treason; they lie under sentence of death, while this Letter is a-writing; are executed five days hence, 10th July 1654; and make an edifying end.[1] Vowel was hanged at Charing Cross in the morning; strong for Church and King. The poor young Gerard, being of gentle blood and a soldier, petitioned to have beheading; and had it, the same evening, in the Tower. So ends Plot First. Other Royalists, Plotters or suspect of Plotting,—Ashburnham, who rode with poor Charles First to the Isle of Wight on a past occasion; Sir Richard Willis, who, I think, will be useful to Oliver by and by,—these and a list of others[2] were imprisoned; were questioned, dismissed; and the Assassin Project is rather cowed-down for a while.

Writs for the New Parliament are out, and much electioneering interest over England: but there is still an anecdote connected with this poor Gerard and the 10th of July, detailed at great length in the old Books, which requires to be mentioned here. About an hour after Gerard, there died, in the same place, by the same judicial axe, a Portuguese Nobleman. Don Pantaleon Sa, whose story, before this tragic end of it, was already somewhat twisted-up with Gerard's. To wit, on the 23d of November last, this same young Major Gerard was walking in the crowd of Exeter 'Change, where Don Pantaleon, Brother of the Portuguese Ambassador, chanced also to be. Some jostling of words, followed by drawing of rapiers, took place between them; wherein as Don Pantaleon had rather the worse, he hurried home to the Portuguese Embassy; armed some twenty of his followers, in headpieces, breastpieces, with sword and pistol, and returned to seek revenge. Gerard was gone; but another man, whom they took for him, these rash Portugals slew there; and had to be repressed, after much other riot, and laid in custody, by the watch or soldiery. Assize-trial, in consequence, for Don Pantaleon; clear Trial in the 'Upper Bench Court,' jury half

[1] *State-Trials* (London, 1810), v. 516-39.

[2] Newspapers, 1st-8th June 1654 (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 143).

foreigners; and rigorous sentence of death;—much to Don Pantaleon's amazement, who pleaded and got his Brother to plead the rights of Ambassadors, all manner of rights and considerations; all to no purpose. The Lord Protector would not and could not step between a murderer and the Law: poor Don Pantaleon perished on the same block with Gerard; two Tragedies, once already in contact, had their fifth-act together. Don Pantaleon's Brother, all sorrow and solicitation being fruitless, signed the Portuguese Treaty that very day, and instantly departed for his own country, with such thoughts as we may figure.[1]

SPEECH II

But now the New Parliament has got itself elected; not without much interest:—the first Election there has been in England for fourteen years past. Parliament of Four-hundred, thirty Scotch, thirty Irish; freely chosen according to the Instrument, according to the Bill that was in progress when the Rump disappeared. What it will say to these late inarticulate births of Providence, and high transactions? Something edifying, one may hope.

Open Malignants, as we know, could not vote or be voted for, to this Parliament; only active Puritans or quiet Neutrals, who had clear property to the value of 200*l.* Probably as fair a Representative as, by the rude method of counting heads, could well be got in England. The bulk of it, I suppose, consists of constitutional Presbyterians and use-and-wont Neutrals; it well represents the arithmetical account of heads in England: whether the real divine and human value of thinking-souls in England,—that is a much deeper question; upon which the Protector and this First Parliament of his may much disagree. It is the question of questions, nevertheless; and he that can answer it best will come best

[1] Whitlocke, pp. 550, 577.

off in the long-run. It was not a successful Parliament this, as we shall find. The Lord Protector and it differed widely in certain fundamental notions they had!—

We recognise old faces, in fair proportion, among those Four-hundred;—many new withal, who never become known to us. Learned Bulstrode, now safe home from perils in Hyperborean countries, is here; elected for several places, the truly valuable man. Old-Speaker Lenthall sits, old Major-General Skippon, old Sir William Masham, old Sir Francis Rouse. My Lord Herbert (Earl of Worcester's son) is here; Owen, Doctor of Divinity, for Oxford University;—a certain not entirely useless Guibon Goddard, for the Town of Lynn, to whom we owe some Notes of the procedure. Leading Officers and high Official persons have been extensively elected; several of them twice and thrice: Fleetwood, Lambert, the Claypoles, Dunches, both the young Cromwells; Montague for his County, Ashley Cooper for his. On the other hand, my Lord Fairfax is here; nay Bradshaw, Haselrig, Robert Wallop, Wildman, and Republicans are here. Old Sir Harry Vane; not young Sir Harry, who sits meditative in the North. Of Scotch Members we mention only Laird Swinton, and the Earl of Hartfell; of the Irish, Lord Broghil and Commissary-General Reynolds, whom we once saw fighting well in that country.[1]—And now hear the authentic Bulstrode; and then the Protector himself.

'*September 3d*, 1654.—The Lord's-day, yet the day of the Parliament's meeting. The Members met in the afternoon at sermon, in the Abbey Church at Westminster: after sermon they attended the Protector in the Painted Chamber; who made a Speech to them of the cause of their summons,' Speech unreported; 'after which, they went to the House, and adjourned to the next morning.

'*Monday September 4th.*—The Protector rode in state from Whitehall to the Abbey Church in Westminster. Some hundreds of Gentlemen and Officers went before him bare;

[1] Letter CVII. vol. ii. p. 67.

with the Life-guard; and next before the coach, his pages and lackeys richly clothed. On the one side of his coach went Strickland, one of his Council, and Captain of his Guard, with the Master of the Ceremonies; both on foot. On the other side went Howard,[1] Captain of the Life-guard. In the coach with him were his son Henry, and Lambert; both sat bare. After him came Claypole, Master of the Horse; with a gallant led horse richly trapped. Next came the Commissioners of the Great Seal,' Lisle, Widdrington and I; 'Commissioners of the Treasury, and divers of the Council in coaches; last the ordinary Guards.

'He alighting at the Abbey Church door,' and entering, 'the Officers of the Army and the Gentlemen went first; next them four maces; then the Commissioners of the Seal, Whitlocke carrying the Purse; after, Lambert carrying the Sword bare: the rest followed. His Highness was seated over against the Pulpit; the Members of the Parliament on both sides.

'After the sermon, which was preached by Mr. Thomas Goodwin, his Highness went, in the same equipage, to the Painted Chamber. Where he took seat in a chair of state set upon steps,' raised chair with a canopy over it, under which his Highness sat covered, 'and the Members upon benches round about sat all bare. All being silent, his Highness,' rising, 'put off his hat, and made a large and subtle speech to them.'[2]

Here is a Report of the Speech, 'taken by one who stood very near,' and 'published[3] to prevent mistakes.' As we, again, stand at some distance,—two centuries with their chasms and ruins,—our hearing is nothing like so good! To help a little, I have, with reluctance, admitted from the latest of the Commentators a few annotations; and intercalated them the best I could; suppressing very many. Let us listen well; and again we shall understand somewhat.

[1] Colonel Charles, ancestor of the Earl of Carlisle. [2] Whitlocke, p. 582
[3] By G. Sawbridge, at the *Bible* on Ludgate Hill, London, 1654.

'GENTLEMEN,—You are met here on the greatest occasion 'that, I believe, England ever saw; having upon your 'shoulders the Interests of Three great Nations with the 'territories belonging to them;—and truly, I believe I may 'say it without any hyperbole, you have upon your shoulders 'the Interest of all the Christian People in the world. And 'the expectation is, that I should let you know, as far as I 'have cognisance of it, the occasion of your assembling to-'gether at this time.

'It hath been very well hinted to you this day,[1] that you 'come hither to settle the Interests above mentioned: for 'your work here, in the issue and consequences of it, *will* 'extend so far, "even to all Christian people." In the way 'and manner of my speaking to you, I shall study plainness; 'and to speak to you what is truth, and what is upon my 'heart, and what will in some measure reach to these great 'concernments.

'After so many changes and turnings, which this Nation 'hath laboured under,—to have such a day of hope as this 'is, and such a door of hope opened by God to us, truly I 'believe, some months since, would have been beyond all our 'thoughts!—I confess it would have been worthy of such 'a meeting as this is, To have remembered[2] that which was 'the rise "of" and gave the first beginning to, all these 'Troubles which have been upon this Nation: and to have 'given you a series of the Transactions,—not of men, but of 'the Providence of God, all along unto our late changes: as 'also the ground of our first undertaking to oppose that 'usurpation and tyranny[3] which was upon us, both in civils 'and spirituals; and the several grounds particularly appli-'cable to the several changes that have been. But I have two 'or three reasons which divert me from such a way of proceed-'ing at this time.

'If I should have gone in that way, "then" that which

[1] in the Sermon we have just heard.
[2] commemorated.
[3] of Charles, Wentworth, Laud and Company.

'lies upon my heart "as to these things,"—which is "so" 'written there that if I would blot it out I could not,— 'would "itself" have spent this day: the providences and 'dispensations of God have been so stupendous. As David 'said in the like case, *Psalm* xl. 5, 'Many, O Lord my God, 'are thy wonderful works which thou hast done, and thy 'thoughts which are to-us-ward: they cannot be reckoned 'up in order unto thee: if I would declare and speak of 'them, they are more than can be numbered.'—Truly, another 'reason, unexpected by me, you had today in the Sermon:[1] 'you had much recapitulation of Providence; much allusion 'to a state and dispensation in respect of discipline and 'correction, of mercies and deliverances, "to a state and 'dispensation similar to ours,"—to, in truth, the only parallel 'of God's dealing with us that I know in the world, which 'was largely and wisely held forth to you this day: To 'Israel's bringing-out of Egypt through a wilderness by many 'signs and wonders, towards a Place of Rest,—I say *towards* 'it.[2] And that having been so well remonstrated to you 'this day, is another argument why I shall not trouble you 'with a recapitulation of those things;—though they are 'things which I hope will never be forgotten, because written 'in better Books than those of paper;—written, I am per- 'suaded, in the heart of every good man!

'"But" a third reason was this: What I judge to be the 'end of your meeting, the great end, which was likewise 'remembered to you this day;[3] to wit, Healing and Settling. 'The remembering of Transactions too particularly, perhaps 'instead of healing,—at least in the hearts of many of you, '—might set the wound fresh a-bleeding. "And" I must 'profess this unto you, whatever thoughts pass upon me: 'That if this day, if this meeting, prove *not* healing, what

[1] This Sermon of Goodwin's is not in the collected Edition of his Works; not among the King's Pamphlets; not in the Bodleian Library. We gather what the subject was, from this Speech, and know nothing of it otherwise.

[2] not yet at it; *nota bene*. [3] in the Sermon.

'shall we do! But, as I said before, I trust it is in the minds 'of you all, and much more in the mind of God, to cause 'healing. It must be first in His mind:—and He being 'pleased to put it into yours, this will be a Day indeed, and 'such a Day as generations to come will bless you for!—I 'say, for this and the other reasons, I have forborne to make 'a particular remembrance and enumeration of things, and 'of the manner of the Lord's bringing us through so many 'changes and turnings as have passed upon us.

'Howbeit, I think it will be more than necessary to let 'you know, at least so well as I may, in what condition this 'Nation, or rather these Nations were, when the present 'Government[1] was undertaken. And for order's sake: It 's 'very natural to consider what our condition was, in Civils; '"and then also" in spirituals.

'What was our condition! Every man's hand almost 'was against his brother;—at least his heart "was"; little 'regarding anything that should cement, and might have a 'tendency in it to cause us to grow into one. All the dis-'pensations of God; His terrible ones, when He met us in 'the way of His judgment[2] in a Ten-years' Civil War; and 'His merciful ones: they did not, they did not work upon 'us![3] "No." But we had our humours and interests;—'and indeed I fear our humours went for more with us than 'even our interests. Certainly, as it falls out in such cases, 'our passions were more than our judgments.—Was not 'everything almost grown arbitrary? Who of us knew where 'or how to have right "done him," without some obstruction 'or other intervening? Indeed we were almost grown arbi-'trary in everything.

'What was the face that was upon our affairs as to the 'Interest of the Nation? As to the Authority in the Nation; 'to the Magistracy; to the Ranks and Orders of men,—

[1] Protectorate. [2] punishment for our sins.

[3] Reiteration of the word is not an uncommon mode of emphasis with Oliver.

'whereby England hath been known for hundreds of years? [*The Levellers!*] A nobleman, a gentleman, a yeoman; "the 'distinction of these": that is a good interest of the Nation, 'and a great one! The "natural" Magistracy of the Nation, 'was it not almost trampled under foot, under despite and 'contempt, by men of Levelling principles? I beseech you, 'For the orders of men and ranks of men, did not that Level-'ling principle tend to the reducing of all to an equality? 'Did it "consciously" think to do so; or did it "only uncon-'sciously" practise towards that for property and interest? '"At all events," what was the purport of it but to make 'the Tenant as liberal a fortune as the Landlord? Which, 'I think, if obtained, would not have lasted long! The men 'of that principle, after they had served their own turns, 'would *then* have cried-up property and interest fast enough! '—This instance is instead of many. And that the thing 'did "and might well" extend far, is manifest; because it was 'a pleasing voice to all Poor Men, and truly not unwelcome 'to all Bad Men. [*Far-extended classes, these two both!*] To 'my thinking, this is a consideration which, in your endeavours 'after settlement, you will be so well minded of, that I might 'have spared it here: but let that pass.—

'"Now as to Spirituals." Indeed in Spiritual things the 'case was more sad and deplorable "still";—and that was 'told to you this day eminently. The prodigious blasphemies; 'contempt of God and Christ, denying of Him, contempt of 'Him and His ordinances, and of the Scriptures: a spirit 'visibly acting[1] those things foretold by Peter and Jude; yea 'those things spoken of by Paul to Timothy! Paul declaring 'some things to be worse than the Antichristian state (of 'which he had spoken in the *First to Timothy*, Chapter fourth, 'verses first and second, "under the title of the Latter 'times"), tells us what should be the lot and portion of the '*Last* Times. He says, (*Second to Timothy*, Chapter third,

[1] a general temper visibly bringing out in practice.

'verses second, third, fourth), 'In the Last Days perilous 'times shall come; men shall be lovers of their own selves, 'covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, 'unthankful,' and so on. But in speaking of the Antichristian 'state, he told us (*First to Timothy*, Chapter fourth, verses 'first and second), that 'in the *latter* days' that state shall 'come in; "not the *last* days but the latter,"—wherein 'there 'shall be a departing from the faith, and a giving heed to 'seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, speaking lies in 'hypocrisy,' and so on. This is only his description of the '*latter* times, or those of Antichrist; and we are given to 'understand that there are *last* times coming, which will be 'worse![1]—And surely it may be feared, these are *our* times. 'For when men forget all rules of Law and Nature, and 'break all the bonds that fallen man hath on him; "obscur-'ing" the remainder of the image of God in their nature, 'which they cannot blot out, and yet shall endeavour to blot 'out, 'having a form of godliness without the power,'—'"surely" these are sad tokens of the last times!

'And indeed the character wherewith this spirit and 'principle is described in that place "of Scripture," is so 'legible and visible, that he who runs may read it to be

[1] There is no express mention of Antichrist either here or elsewhere in the Text of *Timothy* at all; but, I conclude, a full conviction on the part of Cromwell and all sound Commentators that Antichrist is indubitably shadowed forth there. Antichrist means, with them and him, the Pope; to whom Laud etc., with his 'four surplices at Allhallowtide' and other clothweb and cobweb furniture, are of kindred. 'We have got rid of Antichrist,' he seems to intimate, 'we have got pretty well done with Antichrist: and are we now coming to something *worse*? To the Levellers, namely! The *Latter* times are over, then; and we are coming now into the *Last* times?' It is on this contrast of comparative and superlative, *Latter* and *Last*, that Oliver's logic seems to ground itself: Paul says nothing of Antichrist, nor anything directly of the one time being worse or better than the other; only the one time is 'latter,' the other is 'last.'—This paragraph is not important; but to gain any meaning from it whatever, some small changes have been necessary. I do not encumber the reader with *double* samples of what at best is grown obsolete to him: such as wish to see the original unadulterated unintelligibility, will find it, in clear print, p. 321, vol. xx. of *Parliamentary History*, and satisfy themselves whether I have read well or ill.

'amongst us. For by such 'the grace of God is turned into 'wantonness,' and Christ and the Spirit of God made a cloak 'for all villany and spurious apprehensions. [*Threatening to go a strange course, those Antinomian, Levelling, day-dreaming 'Delusionists of ours!*] And though nobody will own these 'things publicly as to practice, the things being so abominable 'and odious; yet "the consideration" how this principle extends 'itself, and whence it had its rise, makes me to think of a 'Second sort of Men, "tending in the same direction": who, 'it 's true, as I said, will not practise nor own these things, yet 'can tell the Magistrate 'That he hath nothing to do with 'men holding such notions: These, "forsooth," are matters of 'conscience and opinion: they are matters of Religion; what 'hath the Magistrate to do with these things? He is to look 'to the outward man, not to the inward,'—"and so forth." 'And truly it so happens that though these things do break 'out visibly to all, yet the principle wherewith these things 'are carried on so forbids the Magistrate to meddle with them, 'that it hath hitherto kept the offenders from punishment.[1]

'Such considerations, and pretensions to 'liberty of con-'science,' "what are they leading us towards"! Liberty of 'Conscience, and Liberty of the Subject,—two as glorious 'things to be contended for, as any that God hath given us; 'yet both these abused for the patronising of villanies! In-'somuch that it hath been an ordinary thing to say, and in 'dispute to affirm, 'That the restraining of such pernicious 'notions was not in the Magistrate's power; he had nothing 'to do with it. Not so much as the printing of a Bible in

[1] The latest of the Commentators says: 'This drossy paragraph has not much Political Philosophy in it, according to our modern established Litany of "toleration," "freedom of opinion," "no man responsible for what opinions he may form," etc. etc.; but it has some honest human sagacity in it, of a much more perennial and valuable character. Worth looking back upon, worth looking up towards,—as the blue skies and stars might be, if through the great deep element of "temporary London Fog" there were any chance of seeing them!—Strange exhalations have risen upon us, and the Fog is very deep: nevertheless very indubitably the stars still *are*.'

'the Nation for the use of the People, "was competent to the 'Magistrate," lest it should be imposed upon the consciences 'of men,'—for 'they would receive the same traditionally and 'implicitly from the Magistrate, if it were thus received!' 'The afore-mentioned abominations did thus swell to this 'height among us.

'"So likewise" the axe was laid to the root of the Ministry.[1] 'It was Antichristian, it was Babylonish, "said they." It 'suffered under such a judgment, that the truth is, as the 'extremity was great according to the former system,[2] I wish 'it prove not as great according to this. The former ex-'tremity "we suffered under" was, That no man, though he had 'never so good a testimony, though he had received gifts from 'Christ, might preach, unless ordained. So now "I think we 'are at the other extremity, when" many affirm, That he who 'is ordained hath a nullity, or Antichristianism, stamped '"thereby" upon his calling; so that he ought not to preach, 'or not be heard.—I wish it may not be too justly said, That 'there was severity and sharpness "in our old system"! Yea, 'too much of an imposing spirit in matters of conscience; a 'spirit unchristian enough in any times, most unfit for these '"times;"—denying liberty "of conscience" to men who 'have earned it with their blood; who have earned civil liberty, 'and religious also, for those [*Stifled murmurs from the 'Presbyterian Sect*] who would thus impose upon them!—

'We may reckon among these our Spiritual evils, an evil 'that hath more refinedness in it, more colour for it, and 'hath deceived more people of integrity than the rest have 'done;—for few have been catched by the former mistakes 'except such as have apostatised from their holy profession, 'such as, being corrupt in their consciences, have been for-'saken by God, and left to such noisome opinions. But, I 'say, there is another error of more refined sort; "which" 'many honest people whose hearts are sincere, many of them

[1] Preaching Clergy.

[2] 'on that hand' in orig. He alludes to the Presbyterian system.

'belonging to God, "have fallen into": and that is the 'mistaken notion of the Fifth Monarchy'—

[Yes, your Highness!—But will his Highness and the old Parliament be pleased here to pause a little, till a faithful Editor take the great liberty of explaining somewhat to the modern part of the audience? Here is a Note saved from destruction; not without difficulty. To his Highness and the old Parliament it will be inaudible; to them, standing very impassive,—serene, immovable in the fixedness of the old Eternities,—it will be no hardship to wait a little! And to us who still live and listen, it may have its uses.

'The common mode of treating Universal History,' says our latest impatient Commentator, 'not yet entirely fallen obsolete in this country, though it has been abandoned with much ridicule everywhere else for half a century now, was to group the Aggregate Transactions of the Human Species into Four Monarchies: the Assyrian Monarchy of Nebuchadnezzar and Company; the Persian of Cyrus and ditto; the Greek of Alexander; and lastly the Roman. These I think were they, but am no great authority on the subject. Under the dregs of this last, or Roman Empire, which is maintained yet by express name in Germany, *Das heilige Römische Reich*, we poor moderns still live. But now say Major-General Harrison and a number of men, founding on Bible Prophecies, Now shall be a Fifth Monarchy, by far the blessedest and the only real one,—the Monarchy of Jesus Christ, his Saints reigning for Him here on Earth,—if not He himself, which is probable or possible,—for a thousand years, etc. etc.— — O Heavens, there are tears for human destiny; and immortal Hope itself is beautiful because it is steeped in Sorrow, and foolish Desire lies vanquished under its feet! They who merely laugh at Harrison take but a small portion of his meaning with them. Thou, with some tear for the valiant Harrison, if with any thought of him at all, tend thou also valiantly, in thy day and generation, whither he was tending; and know that, in

far wider and diviner figure than that of Harrison, the Prophecy is very sure,—that it *shall* be sure while one brave man survives among the dim bewildered populations of this world. Good shall reign on this Earth: has *not* the Most High said it? To approve Harrison, to justify Harrison, will avail little for thee; go and *do likewise*. Go and do better, thou that disapprovest him. Spend thou thy life for the Eternal: we will call thee also brave, and remember thee for a while!'

So much for 'that mistaken notion of the Fifth Monarchy': and now his Highness, tragically audible across the Centuries, continues again:]

'—Fifth Monarchy. A thing pretending more spirituality 'than anything else. A notion I hope we all honour, and 'wait, and hope for "the fulfilment of": That Jesus Christ '*will* have a time to set up His Reign in our hearts; by 'subduing those corruptions and lusts and evils that are 'there; which now reign more in the world than, I hope, in 'due time they shall do. And when more fulness of the 'Spirit is poured forth to subdue iniquity, and bring-in ever-'lasting righteousness, then will the approach of that glory 'be. [*Most true;—and not till then!*] The carnal divisions 'and contentions among Christians, so common, are not the 'symptoms of that Kingdom!—But for men, on this principle, 'to betitle themselves, that they are the only men to rule 'kingdoms, govern nations, and give laws to people, and 'determine of property and liberty and everything else,—'upon such a pretension as this is:—truly they had need to 'give clear manifestations of God's presence with them, before wise men will receive or submit to their conclusions! Never-'theless, as many of these men have good meanings, which I 'hope in my soul they have, it will be the wisdom of all 'knowing and experienced Christians to do as Jude saith. '"Jude," when he reckoned-up those horrible things, done 'upon pretences, and haply by some upon mistakes: 'Of

'some,' says he, 'have compassion, making a difference; 'others save with fear, pulling them out of the fire.'[1] I 'fear they will give too often opportunity for this exercise! 'But I hope the same will be for their good. If men do but '"so much as" pretend for justice and righteousness, and be 'of peaceable spirits, and will manifest this, let them be the 'subjects of the Magistrate's encouragement. And if the 'Magistrate, by punishing visible miscarriages, save them by 'that discipline, God having ordained him for that end,—I 'hope it will evidence *love* and not hatred, "so" to punish 'where there is cause. [*Hear!*]

'Indeed this is that which doth most declare the danger[2] 'of that spirit. For if these were but notions,—I mean 'these instances I have given you of dangerous doctrines both 'in Civil things and Spiritual; if, I say, they were but 'notions, they were best let alone. Notions will hurt none 'but those that have them. But when they come to such 'practices as telling us, "for instance," That Liberty and 'Property are not the badges of the Kingdom of Christ; 'when they tell us, not that we are to regulate Law, but 'that Law is to be abrogated, indeed subverted; and perhaps 'wish to bring in the Judaical Law'—

[Latest Commentator *loquitur*: 'This, as we observed, was the cry that Westminster raised when the Little Parliament set about reforming Chancery. What countenance this of the Mosaic Law might have had from Harrison and his minority, one does not know. Probably they did find the Mosaic Law, in some of its enactments, more cognate to Eternal Justice and "the mind of God" than Westminster-Hall Law was; and so might reproachfully or admonitorily appeal to it on occasion, as they had the clearest title and call to do: but the clamour itself, as significant of any practical intention, on

[1] Jude, 22, 23. A passage his Highness frequently refers to.

[2] This fact, that they come so often to 'visible miscarriages,' these Fifth-Monarchists and Speculative Levellers, who 'have good meanings.'

the part of that Parliament, or of any considerable Sect in England, to bring-in the Mosaic Law, is very clearly a long-wigged one, rising from the Chancery regions, and is descriptive of nothing but of the humour that prevailed there. His Highness alludes to it in passing; and from him it was hardly worth even that allusion.']

'—Judaical Law; instead of our known laws settled among 'us: this is worthy of every Magistrate's consideration. 'Especially where every stone is turned to bring in confusion. 'I think, I say, this will be worthy of the Magistrate's con-'sideration. [*Shall he step beyond his province, then, your Highness? And interfere with freedom of opinion?—'I think, I say, it will be worth his while to consider about it!*']

'Whilst these things were in the midst of us; and whilst 'the Nation was rent and torn in spirit and principle from 'one end to the other, after this sort and manner I have 'now told you; family against family, husband against wife, 'parents against children; and nothing in the hearts and 'minds of men but 'Overturn, overturn, overturn!' (a 'Scripture phrase very much abused, and applied to justify 'unpeaceable practices by all men of discontented spirits),— 'the common Enemy sleeps not: our adversaries in civil and 'religious respects did take advantage of these distractions 'and divisions, and did practise accordingly in the three 'Nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland. We know very 'well that Emissaries of the Jesuits never came in such 'swarms as they have done since those things[1] were set on 'foot. And I tell you that divers Gentlemen here can bear 'witness with me How that they, "the Jesuits," have had a 'Consistory abroad which rules all the affairs of things '['*Affairs of things': rough and ready!*] in England, from 'an Archbishop down to the other dependants upon him. 'And they had fixed in England,—of which we are able to 'produce the particular Instruments in most of the limits of

[1] Speculations of the Levellers, Fifth-Monarchists, etc. etc.

'their Cathedrals "or pretended Dioceses,"—an Episcopal 'Power [*Regular Episcopacy of their own!*], with Archdeacons, 'etc. And had persons authorised to exercise and distribute 'those things [*I begin to love that rough-and-ready method, in 'comparison with some others!*]; who pervert and deceive the 'people. And all this, while we were in that sad, and as I said deplorable condition.

'And in the mean time all endeavours possible were used to hinder the work "of God" in Ireland, and the progress of 'the work of God in Scotland; by continual intelligences and 'correspondences, both at home and abroad, from hence into 'Ireland, and from hence into Scotland.[1] Persons were stirred 'up, from our divisions and discomposure of affairs, to do all 'they could to ferment the War in both these places. To 'add yet to our misery, whilst we were in this condition, we 'were in a "foreign" War. Deeply engaged in War with 'the Portuguese;[2] whereby our Trade ceased: the evil con-'sequences by that War were manifest and very considerable. 'And not only this, but we had a War with Holland; con-'suming our treasure; occasioning a vast burden upon the 'people. A War that cost this Nation full as much as the '"whole" Taxes came unto; the Navy being a Hundred-and-'sixty Ships, which cost this Nation above 100,000*l.* a-month; 'besides the contingencies, which would make it 120,000*l.* 'That very one War [*sic*] did engage us to so great a charge. '—At the same time also we were in a War with France. [*A Bickering and Skirmishing and Liability to War;*[3]*—Mazarin 'as yet thinking our side the weaker.*] The advantages that 'were taken of the discontents and divisions among ourselves 'did also ferment that War, and at least hinder us of an 'honourable peace; every man being confident we could not 'hold-out long. And surely they did not calculate amiss, if 'the Lord had not been exceedingly gracious to us! I say,

[1] Middleton-Glencairn Revolts, and what not.

[2] Who protected Rupert in his quasi-piracies, and did require chastisement from us.

[3] See Appendix, No. 28.

'at the same time we had a War with France. [*Yes, your 'Highness said so,—and we admit it!*] And besides the 'sufferings in respect to the Trade of the Nation, it 's most 'evident that the Purse of the Nation could not have been 'able much longer to bear it,—by reason of the advantages 'taken by other States to improve their own, and spoil our 'Manufacture of Cloth, and hinder the vent thereof; which 'is the great staple commodity of this Nation [*And has con-'tinued to be!*]. Such was our condition: spoiled in our Trade, 'and we at this vast expense; thus dissettled at home, and 'having these engagements abroad.

'Things being so,—and I am persuaded it is not hard to 'convince every person here they were so,—what a heap 'of confusions were upon these poor Nations! And either 'things must have been left to sink into the miseries these 'premises would suppose, or else a remedy must be applied. '[*Apparently!*] A remedy hath been applied: that hath been 'this Government;[1] a thing I shall say little unto. The 'thing is open and visible to be seen and read by all men; 'and therefore let it speak for itself. [*Even so, your High-ness; there is a silence prouder and nobler than any speech 'one is used to hear.*] Only let me say this,—because I can 'speak it with comfort and confidence before a Greater than 'you all: That in the intention of it, as to the approving 'of our hearts to God, let men judge as they please, it was 'calculated "with our best wisdom" for the interest of the 'People. For the interest of the People alone, and for their 'good, without respect had to any other interest. And if 'that be not true [*With animation!*], I shall be bold to say 'again, Let it speak for itself. Truly I may,—I hope, 'humbly before God, and modestly before you,—say some-'what on the behalf of the Government. [*Recite a little*

[1] He means, and his hearers understand him to mean, '*Form* of Government' mainly; but he diverges now and then into our modern acceptation of the word 'Government,'—Administration or Supreme Authority.

'*what it 'speaks for itself,' after all?*] Not that I would dis-
'course of the particular heads of it, but acquaint you a little
'with the effects it has had: and this not for ostentation's
'sake, but to the end I may at this time deal faithfully with
'you, and acquaint you with the state of things, and what
'proceedings have been entered into by [1] this Government, and
'what the state of our affairs is. This is the main end of my
'putting you to this trouble.

'The Government hath had some things in desire; and
'it hath done some things actually. It hath desired to
'reform the Laws. I say to reform them [*Hear!*]:—and for
'that end it hath called together Persons, without offence be
'it spoken, of as great ability and as great interest as are in
'these Nations,[2] to consider how the Laws might be made
'plain and short, and less chargeable to the People; how to
'lessen expense, for the good of the Nation. And those
'things are in preparation, and Bills prepared; which in due
'time, I make no question, will be tendered to you. "In
'the mean while" there hath been care taken to put the
'administration of the Laws into the hands of just men
'[*Matthew Hale, for instance*]; men of the most known
'integrity and ability. The Chancery hath been reformed'—

[From the moderns: 'Only to a very small extent and in a very temporary manner, your Highness! His Highness returns upon the Law, on subsequent occasions, and finds the reform of it still a very pressing matter. Difficult to sweep the intricate foul chimneys of Law his Highness found it,—as we after two centuries of new soot and accumulation now acknowledge on all hands, with a sort of silent despair, a silent wonder each one of us to himself, "What, in God's name, is to become of all that?"']

'—hath been reformed; I hope, to the satisfaction of all good

[1] 'been upon' in orig.

[2] Ordinance for the Reform of Chancery: antea, p. 93.

'men: and as for the things, 'or causes,'' depending there, 'which made the burden and work of the honourable Persons 'intrusted in those services too heavy for their ability, it[1] 'hath referred many of them to those places where Englishmen 'love to have their rights tried, the Courts of Law at West-'minster.

'This Government hath, "farther," endeavoured to put a 'stop to that heady way (likewise touched of "in our Sermon" 'this day) of every man making himself a Minister and 'Preacher. [*Commission of Triers; Yea!*] It hath endea-'voured to settle a method for the approving and sanctioning 'of men of piety and ability to discharge that work. And I 'think I may say it hath committed the business to the trust 'of Persons, both of the Presbyterian and Independent judg-'ments, of as known ability, piety and integrity, as any, I 'believe, this Nation hath. And I believe also that, in that 'care they have taken, they have laboured to approve them-'selves to Christ, to the Nation and to their own consciences. 'And indeed I think, if there be anything of quarrel against 'them,—though I am not here to justify the proceedings of 'any,—it is that they, "in fact," go upon such a character as 'the Scripture warrants: To put men into that great Employ-'ment, and to approve men for it, who are men that have ''received gifts from Him that ascended up on high, and gave 'gifts' for the work of the Ministry, and for the edifying of 'the Body of Christ. The Government hath also taken care, 'we hope, for the expulsion [*Commission of Expurgation, too,*] 'of all those who may be judged any way unfit for this work; 'who are scandalous, and the common scorn and contempt of 'that function.

'One thing more this Government hath done: it hath 'been instrumental to call a free Parliament;—which, blessed 'be God, we see here this day! I say, a free Parliament. '[*Mark the iteration!*] And that it may continue so, I hope

[1] The Government.

'is in the heart and spirit of every good man in England,— 'save such discontented persons as I have formerly mentioned. 'It's that which as I have desired above my life, so I shall 'desire to keep it above my life. [*Verily?*] —

'I did before mention to you the plunges we were in 'with respect to Foreign States; by the War with Portugal, 'France, the Dutch, the Danes, and the little assurance we 'had from any of our neighbours round about. I perhaps 'forgot, but indeed it was a caution upon my mind, and I 'desire now it may be so understood, That if any good hath 'been done, it was the Lord, not we His poor instruments.'—

[Pity if this pass entirely for 'cant,' my esteemed modern friends! It is not cant, nor ought to be. O Higginbotham, there is a *Selbsttödtung*, a killing of Self, as my friend Novalis calls it, which is, was, and for ever will be, 'the beginning of all morality,' of all real work and worth for man under this Sun.]

'—I did instance the Wars; which did exhaust your treasure; 'and put you into such a condition that you must have sunk 'therein, if it had continued but a few months longer: this 'I can affirm, if strong probability may be a fit ground. 'And now you have, though it be not the first in time,— 'Peace with Swedeland; an honourable peace; through the 'endeavours of an honourable Person here present as the 'instrument. [*Whitlocke seen blushing!*] I say you have an 'honourable peace with a Kingdom which, not many years 'since, was much a friend to France, and lately perhaps 'inclinable enough to the Spaniard. And I believe you 'expect not much good from any of your Catholic neighbours '[*No; we are not exactly their darlings!*]; nor yet that they 'would be very willing you should have a good understanding 'with your Protestant friends. Yet, thanks be to God, that 'Peace is concluded; and as I said before, it is an honourable 'Peace.

'You have a Peace with the Danes,—a State that lay 'contiguous to that part of this Island which hath given us 'the most trouble. [*Your Montroses, Middletons came always, with their Mosstroopers and Harpy hosts, out of the Danish 'quarter.*] And certainly if your enemies abroad be able to 'annoy you, it is likely they will take their advantage (where 'it best lies) to give you trouble from that country. But you 'have a Peace there, and an honourable one. Satisfaction 'to your Merchants' ships; not only to their content, but to 'their rejoicing.[1] I believe you will easily know it is so,— '"an honourable peace." You have the Sound open; which 'used to be obstructed. That which was and is the strength 'of this Nation, the Shipping, will now be supplied thence. 'And whereas you were glad to have anything of that kind[2] 'at secondhand, you have now all manner of commerce there, 'and at as much freedom as the Dutch themselves, "who 'used to be the carriers and venders of it to us"; and at the 'same rates and tolls;—and I think, by that Peace, the said 'rates now fixed-upon cannot be raised to you "in future."

'You have a Peace with the Dutch: a Peace unto which 'I shall say little, seeing it is so well known in the benefit 'and consequences thereof. And I think it was as desirable, 'and as acceptable to the spirit of this Nation, as any one 'thing that lay before us. And, as I believe nothing so 'much gratified our enemies as to see us at odds "with that 'Commonwealth"; so I persuade myself nothing is of more 'terror or trouble to them than to see us thus reconciled. '"Truly" as a Peace with the Protestant States hath much 'security in it, so it hath as much of honour and of assurance 'to the Protestant Interest abroad; without which no assist-

[1] 'Danish claims settled,' as was already said somewhere, 'on the 31st of July': Dutch and English Commissioners did it, in Goldsmiths' Hall; met on the 27th of June; if the business were not done when August began, they were then to be 'shut-up without fire, candle, meat or drink,'—and to do it out very speedily! They allowed our Merchants 98,000*l.* for damages against the Danes. (Godwin, iv. 49,—who cites Dumont, *Traité* 24.)

[2] Baltic Produce, namely.

'ance can be given thereunto. I wish it may be written upon 'our hearts to be zealous for that Interest! For if ever it 'were like to come under a condition of suffering, it is now. 'In all the Emperor's Patrimonial Territories, the endeavour 'is to drive the Protestant part of the people out, as fast as 'is possible; and they are necessitated to run to Protestant 'States to seek their bread. And by this conjunction of 'Interests, I hope you will be in a more fit capacity to help 'them. And it begets some reviving of their spirits, that 'you will help them as opportunity shall serve. [*We will!*]

'You have a Peace likewise with the Crown of Portugal; 'which Peace, though it hung long in hand, yet is lately 'concluded. It is a Peace which, your Merchants make us 'believe, is of good concernment to their trade; the rate of 'insurance to that Country having been higher, and so the 'profit which could bear such rate,[1] than to other places. 'And one thing hath been obtained in this treaty, which 'never "before" was, since the Inquisition was set up there: 'That our people which trade thither have Liberty of Con-'science,—'liberty to worship in Chapels of their own.'

'Indeed, Peace is, as you were well told today, desirable 'with all men, as far as it may be had with conscience and 'honour! We are upon a Treaty with France. And we 'may say this, That if God give us honour in the eyes of the 'Nations about us, we have reason to bless Him for it, and 'so to own it. And I dare say that there is not a Nation 'in Europe but is very willing to ask a good understanding 'with you.

'I am sorry I am thus tedious: but I did judge that it 'was somewhat necessary to acquaint you with these things. 'And things being so,—I hope you will not be unwilling to 'hear a little again of the Sharp as well as of the Sweet! 'And I should not be faithful to you, nor to the interest of 'these Nations which you and I serve, if I did not let you 'know *all*.

[1] 'their assurance being greater, and so their profit in trade thither,' in orig.

'As I said before, when this Government was undertaken, 'we were in the midst of those "domestic" divisions and ani- 'mosities and scatterings; engaged also with those "foreign" 'enemies round about us, at such a vast charge,—120,000*l.* 'a-month for the very Fleet. Which sum was the very 'utmost penny of your Assessments. Ay; and then all your 'treasure was exhausted and spent when this Government 'was undertaken: all *accidental* ways of bringing-in treasure '"were," to a very inconsiderable sum, consumed;—the '"forfeited" Lands sold, the sums on hand spent; Rents, 'Fee-farms, Delinquents' Lands, King's, Queen's, Bishops', 'Dean-and-Chapters' Lands, sold. These were *spent* when 'this Government was undertaken. I think it 's my duty to 'let you know so much. And that 's the reason why the 'Taxes do yet lie so heavy upon the People;—of which we 'have abated 30,000*l.* a-month for the next three months. 'Truly I thought it my duty to let you know, That though 'God hath dealt thus "bountifully" with you,[1] yet these are 'but entrances and doors of hope. Whereby, through the 'blessing of God, you *may* enter into rest and peace. But 'you are not yet entered! [*Looking up, with a mournful toss of the head, I think.*—'*Ah, no, your Highness; not yet!*']

'You were told today of a People brought out of Egypt 'towards the Land of Canaan; but through unbelief, murmur- 'ing, repining, and other temptations and sins wherewith God 'was provoked, they were fain to come back again, and linger 'many years in the Wilderness before they came to the Place 'of Rest. *We* are thus far, through the mercy of God. We 'have cause to take notice of it, That we are not brought into 'misery, "not totally wrecked"; but "have," as I said before, 'a door of hope open. And I may say this to you: If the 'Lord's blessing and His presence go along with the manage- 'ment of affairs at this Meeting, you will be enabled to put 'the topstone to the work, and make the Nation happy. But 'this must be by knowing the true state of affairs! [*Hear!*]

[1] In regard to our Successes and Treaties, etc. enumerated above.

'You are yet, like the People under Circumcision, but raw.[1] 'Your Peaces are but newly made. And it's a maxim not to 'be despised, 'Though peace be made, yet it's interest that 'keeps peace';—and I hope you will not trust such peace 'except so far as you see interest upon it. "But all settlement 'grows stronger by mere continuance." And therefore I wish 'that you may go forward, and not backward; and "in brief" 'that you may have the blessing of God upon your endeavours! 'It's one of the great ends of calling this Parliament, that 'the Ship of the Commonwealth may be brought into a safe 'harbour; which, I assure you, it will not be, without your 'counsel and advice.

'You have great works upon your hands. You have 'Ireland to look unto. There is not much done to the 'Planting thereof, though some things leading and preparing 'for it are. It is a great business to settle the Government 'of that Nation upon fit terms, such as will bear that work[2] 'through.—You have had laid before you some considerations, 'intimating your peace with several foreign States. But yet 'you have not made peace with *all*. And if they should see 'we do not manage our affairs with that wisdom which 'becomes us,—truly we may sink under disadvantages, for all 'that's done. [*Truly, your Highness!*] And our enemies 'will have their eyes open, and be revived, if they see ani-'mosities amongst us; which indeed will be their great 'advantage.

'I do therefore persuade you to a sweet, gracious and holy 'understanding of one another, and of your business. [*Alas!*] 'Concerning which you had so good counsel this day; which 'as it rejoiced my heart to hear, so I hope the Lord will 'imprint it upon your spirits,—wherein you shall have my 'Prayers. [*Prayers, your Highness?—If this be not 'cant,'*

[1] See, in *Joshua* v. 2-8, the whole Jewish Nation circumcised at once. So, too, your Settlements of Discord are yet but indifferently cicatrised.

[2] Of planting Ireland with persons that will plough and pray, instead of quarrel and blarney!

what a noble thing is it, O reader! Worth thinking of, for a moment.]

'Having said this, and perhaps omitted many other 'material things through the frailty of my memory, I shall 'exercise plainness and freeness with you; and say, That I 'have not spoken these things as one who assumes to himself 'dominion over you; but as one who doth resolve to be a 'fellow-servant with you to the interest of these great affairs, 'and of the People of these Nations. I shall trouble you no 'longer; but desire you to repair to your House, and to 'exercise your own liberty in the choice of a Speaker, that so 'you may lose no time in carrying on your work.' *

At this Speech, say the old Newspapers, 'all generally seemed abundantly to rejoice, by extraordinary expressions and hums at the conclusion,'—Hum-m-m![1] 'His Highness withdrew into the old House of Lords, and the Members of Parliament into the Parliament House. His Highness, so soon as the Parliament were gone to their House, went back to Whitehall, privately in his barge, by water.'

This Report of Speech Second, 'taken by one that stood near,' and 'published to prevent mistakes,' may be considered as exact enough in respect of matter, but in manner and style it is probably not so close to the Original Deliverance as the foregoing Speech was. He 'who stood near' on this occasion seems to have had some conceit in his abilities, as a Reporter; has pared off excrescences, peculiarities,—somewhat desirous to present the Portrait of his Highness without the warts. He, or his Parliamentary-History Editor and he, have, for one thing, very arbitrarily divided the Discourse into little fractional paragraphs; which a good deal obstruct the sense here and there: and have accordingly been disregarded in our Transcript. Our

* Old Pamphlet cited above: reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 318-33.

[1] *Cromwelliana*, p. 147; see also Guibon Goddard, Member for Lynn (in *Burton*, i. Introd. p xviii.).

changes, which, as before, have been insignificant, are indicated wherever they seem to have importance or physiognomic character,—indicated too often, perhaps, for the reader's convenience. As to the meaning, I have not anywhere remained in doubt, after due study. The rough Speech when read faithfully becomes transparent, every word of it; credible, calculated to produce conviction, every word of it;—and that I suppose is or should be, as our impatient Commentator says, 'the definition of a *good Speech*. Other "good speeches," ' continues he, 'ought to be spoken in Bedlam;—unless, indeed, you will concede them Drury Lane, and admittance one shilling. Spoken in other localities than these, without belief on the speaker's part, or hope or chance of producing belief on the hearer's—Ye Heavens, as if the good-speeching individual were some frightful Wood-and-leather Man, made at Nürnberg, and tenanted by a Devil; set to *increase* the Sum of Human Madness, instead of lessening it—!'—But we here cut-short our impatient Commentator.—The Reporter of Cromwell, we may say for ourselves, like the painter of him, has not to suppress the warts, the natural rugged physiognomy of the man; which only very poor tastes would exchange for any other. He has to wash the natural face *clean*, however; that men may see *it*, and not the opaque mass of mere soot, and featureless confusions which, in two Centuries of considerable Stupidity in regard to that matter, have settled there.

SPEECH III

This First Protectorate Parliament, we said, was not successful. It chose, judiciously enough, old Lenthall for Speaker; appointed, judiciously enough, a Day of general Fasting:—but took, directly after that, into constitutional debate about Sanctioning the Form of Government (which nobody was specially asking it to 'sanction'); about Parliament and Single Person; powers of Single Person and of Parliament;

Coördination, Subordination; and other bottomless subjects; —in which getting always the deeper the more it puddled in them, inquiry or intimation of inquiry rose not obscurely in the distance, Whether this Government should *be* by a Parliament and Single Person? These things the honourable gentlemen, with true industry, debated in Grand Committee, 'from eight in the morning till eight at night, with an hour for refreshment about noon,' debates waxing ever hotter, question ever more abstruse, — through Friday, Saturday, Monday; ready, if Heaven spared them, to debate it farther for unlimited days. Constitutional Presbyterian persons, Use-and-wont Neuters; not without a spicing of sour Republicans, as Bradshaw, Haselrig, Scott, to keep the batch in leaven.

His Highness naturally perceived that this would never do, not this;—sent therefore to the Lord Mayor, late on Monday night I think, to look after the peace of the City; to Speaker Lenthall, that he must bring his people to the Painted Chamber, before going farther: and early on Tuesday morning, poor Mr. Guibon Goddard, Member for Lynn, just about to proceed again, from the Eastern parts, towards his sublime constitutional day's-work, is overwhelmed by rumours, 'That the Parliament is dissolved! that, for certain, the Council of State, and a Council of War, had sat together all the Sabbath-day before, and had then contrived this Dissolution!'

'Notwithstanding,' continues Guibon, 'I was resolved to go to Westminster, to satisfy myself of the truth; and to take my share of what I should see or learn there. Going by water to Westminster, I was told that the Parliament-doors were locked up, and guarded with soldiers, and that the Barges were to attend the Protector to the Painted Chamber. As I went, I saw two Barges at the Privy Stairs.' River and City in considerable emotion. 'Being come to the Hall, I was confirmed in what I had heard. Nevertheless I did purpose not to take things merely upon trust; but would receive an actual repulse, to confirm my faith. Accordingly, I attempted up the Parliament stairs; but a guard of Soldiers was there,

who told me, "There was no passage that way; the House was locked up, and command given to give no admittance to any;—if I were a Member, I might go into the Painted Chamber, where the Protector would presently be." The Mace had been taken away by Commissary-General Whalley. The Speaker and all the Members were walking up and down the Hall, the Court of Requests, and the Painted Chamber; expecting the Protector's coming. The passages there likewise were guarded with soldiers.'[1]

No doubt about it, therefore, my honourable friend! Dissolution, or something, is not far. Between nine and ten, the Protector arrived, with due escort of Officers, halberts, Lifeguards; took his place, covered, under 'the state' as before, we all sitting bareheaded on our benches as before; and with fit salutation spake to us;—as follows. 'Speech of an hour and a half long'; taken in characters by the former individual who 'stood near'; audible still to modern men. Tuesday morning 12th September 1654; a week and a day since the last Speech here.

In this remarkable Speech, the occasion of which and the Speaker of which are very extraordinary, an assiduous reader, or 'modern hearer,' will find Historical indications, significant shadowings-forth both of the Protectorate and the Protector; which, considering whence they come, he will not fail to regard as documentary in those matters. Nay perhaps, here for the first time, if he read with real industry, there may begin to paint itself for him, on the void Dryasdust Abyss, hitherto called History of Oliver, some dim adumbration of How this business of Assuming the Protectorate may actually have been. It was, many years ago, in reading these Speeches, with a feeling that they must have been credible when spoken, and with a strenuous endeavour to find what their meaning was, and try to believe it, that to the present Editor the Commonwealth, and Puritan Rebellion generally, first began to be conceivable. Such was his experience.—

[1] Ayscough MSS., printed in *Burton's Diary*, i. Introd. p. xxxiii.

But certainly the Lord Protector's place, that September Tuesday 1654, is not a bed of roses! His painful asseverations, appeals and assurances have made the Modern part of his audience look, more than once, with questioning eyes. On this point, take from a certain Commentator sometimes above cited from, and far oftener suppressed, the following rough words:

'"Divers persons who do know whether I lie in that," says the Lord Protector. What a position for a hero, to be reduced continually to say He does not lie!—Consider well, nevertheless, What else could Oliver do? To get on with this new Parliament was clearly his one chance of governing peaceably. To wrap himself up in stern pride, and refuse to give any explanation. would that have been the wise plan of dealing with them? Or the stately and not-so-wise plan? Alas, the *wise* plan, when all lay yet as an experiment, with so dread issues in it to yourself and the whole world, was not very discoverable. Perhaps not quite reconcilable with the *stately* plan, even if it had been discovered!'

And again, with regard to the scheme of the Protectorship, which his Highness says was done by 'the Gentlemen that undertook to frame this Government,' after divers days consulting, and without the least privity of his: 'You never guessed what they were doing, your Highness? Alas, his Highness guessed it,—and yet must not say, or think, he guessed it. There is something sad in a brave man's being reduced to explain himself from a barrel-head in this manner! Yet what, on the whole, will he do? Coriolanus curled his lip, and scowled proudly enough on the sweet voices: but Coriolanus had likewise to go over to the Volscians; Coriolanus had not the slightest chance to govern by a free Parliament in Rome! Oliver was not prepared for these extremities; if less would serve. Perhaps in Oliver there is something of better than "silent pride"? Oliver will have to explain himself before God Most High, ere long;—and it will not stead him there, that he went wrong because his pride,

his "personal dignity," his etc. etc. were concerned.— —Who would govern men! "Oh, it were better to be a poor fisherman," exclaimed Danton, "than to meddle with governing of men"! "I would rather keep a flock of sheep!" said Oliver. And who but a Flunky would not, if his real trade lay in keeping sheep?'—

On the whole, concludes our Commentator: 'As good an explanation as the case admits of,—from a barrel-head, or "raised platform under a state." Where so much that is true cannot be said; and yet nothing that is false shall be said,—under penalties forgotten in our Time! With regard to those asseverations and reiterated appeals, note this also: An oath was an oath then; not a solemn piece of blasphemous cant, as too often since. No *contemporary* that I have met with, who had any opportunity to judge, disbelieved Oliver in these protestations; though many believed that he was unconsciously deceiving himself. Which, of course, we too, where needful, must ever remember that he was liable to do; nay, if you will, that he was continually doing. But to this Commentator, at this stage in the development of things, "Apology" seems not the word for Oliver Cromwell;—not that, but a far other word! The Modern part of his Highness's audience can listen now, I think, across the Time-gulfs, in a different mood;—with candour, with human brotherhood, with reverence and grateful love. Such as the noble never claim in vain from those that have any nobleness. This of tasking a great soul continually to prove to us that he was not a liar, is too unwashed a way of welcoming a Great Man! Scrubby Apprentices of tender years, to them it might seem suitable;—still more readily to Apes by the Dead Sea!' Let us have done with it, my friend; and listen to the Speech itself, of date, Painted Chamber, 12th September 1654, the best we can!

'Gentlemen—It is not long since I met you in this 'place, upon an occasion which gave me much more content

'and comfort than this doth. That which I have now to say 'to you will need no preamble, to let me into my discourse: 'for the occasion of this meeting is plain enough. I could 'have wished with all my heart there had been no cause 'for it.

'At our former meeting I did acquaint you what was the 'first rise of this Government, which hath called you hither, 'and by the authority of which you have come hither. 'Among other things which I then told you of, I said, You 'were a Free Parliament. And "truly" so you are,—whilst 'you own the Government and Authority which called you 'hither. But certainly that word "Free Parliament" implied 'a reciprocity,[1] or it implied nothing at all! Indeed there 'was a reciprocity implied and expressed; and I think your 'actions and carriages ought to be suitable! But I see 'it will be necessary for me now a little to magnify my 'Office. Which I have not been apt to do. I have been 'of this mind, I have been always of this mind, since I first 'entered upon my Office, If God will not bear it up, let 'it sink! [*Yea!*] But if a duty be incumbent upon me 'to bear my testimony unto it (which in modesty I have 'hitherto forborne), I am in some measure necessitated 'thereunto. And therefore that will be the prologue to my 'discourse.

'I called not myself to this place. I say again, I called 'not myself to this place! Of that God is witness:—and I 'have many witnesses who, I do believe, could lay down 'their lives bearing witness to the truth of that. Namely, 'That I called not myself to this place! [*His Highness is 'growing emphatic.*] And being in it, I bear not witness to 'myself "or my office"; but God and the People of these 'Nations have also borne testimony to it "and me." *If* my 'calling be from God, and my testimony from the People,— 'God and the People shall take it from me, else I will not 'part with it. [*Do you mark that, and the air and manner of*

[1] 'reciprocation' in orig.

'*it, my honourable friends!*] I should be false to the trust 'that God hath placed in me, and to the interest of the 'People of these Nations, if I did.

''That I called not myself to this place,' is my first 'assertion. 'That I bear not witness to myself, but have 'many witnesses,' is my second. These two things I shall 'take the liberty to speak more fully to you of.—To make 'plain and clear what I have here asserted, I must take 'liberty to look "a little" back.

'I was by birth a Gentleman; living neither in any con-'siderable height, nor yet in obscurity. I have been called 'to several employments in the Nation: To serve in Parlia-'ment, "and others"; and,—not to be over-tedious,—I did 'endeavour to discharge the duty of an honest man, in those 'services, to God and His People's Interest, and to the 'Commonwealth; having, when time was, a competent 'acceptation in the hearts of men, and some evidences thereof. 'I resolve, not to recite the times and occasions and oppor-'tunities, which have been appointed me by God to serve 'Him in; nor the presence and blessings of God therein 'bearing testimony to me. [*Well said, and well forborne to be said!*]

'Having had some occasions to see, together with my 'brethren and countrymen, a happy period put to our sharp 'Wars and contests with the then common Enemy, I hoped, 'in a private capacity, to have reaped the fruit and benefit, 'together with my brethren, of our hard labours and hazards: 'the enjoyment, to wit, of Peace and Liberty, and the privi-'leges of a Christian and a Man, in some equality with others, 'according as it should please the Lord to dispense unto me. 'And when, I say, God hath put an end to our Wars, or at 'least brought them to a very hopeful issue, very near an end, '—after Worcester Fight,—I came up to London to pay my 'service and duty to the Parliament which then sat: hoping 'that all minds would have been disposed to answer what 'seemed to be the mind of God, namely, To give peace and

'rest to His People, and especially to those who had bled 'more than others in the carrying-on of the Military affairs, '—I was much disappointed of my expectation. For the 'issue did not prove so. [*Suppressed murmurs from Bradshaw 'and Company.*] Whatever may be boasted or misrepresented, 'it was not so, not so!

'I can say, in the simplicity of my soul, I love not, I love 'not,—I declined it in my former Speech,[1]—I say, I love not 'to rake into sores, or to discover nakednesses! The thing 'I drive at is this: I say to you, I hoped to have had leave, '"for my own part," to retire to a private life. I begged to 'be dismissed of my charge; I begged it again and again; '—and God be Judge between me and all men if I lie in this 'matter! [*Groans from Dryasdust, scarcely audible, in the 'deep silence.*] That I lie not in matter of fact is known 'to very many ['*Hum-m-m!*' *Look of* '*Yea*'*! from the 'Military Party*]: but whether I tell a lie in my heart, as 'labouring to represent to you what was not upon my heart, 'I say the Lord be Judge.[2] Let uncharitable men, who 'measure others by themselves, judge as they please. As to 'the matter of fact, I say, It is true. As to the ingenuity 'and integrity of my heart in that desire,—I do appeal as 'before upon the truth of that also!— — But I could not 'obtain "what I desired," what my soul longed for. And 'the plain truth is, I did afterwards apprehend some were of 'opinion (such the difference of their judgment from mine), 'That it could not well be.[3]

'I confess I am in some strait to say what I could say, 'and what is true, of what then followed. I pressed the 'Parliament, as a Member, To period themselves;—once and 'again, and again, and ten, nay twenty times over. I told 'them,—for I knew it better than any one man in the 'Parliament could know it; because of my manner of life,

[1] Antea, Speech I. p. 47.

[2] He: Believe *you* about that as you see good.

[3] That I could not be spared from my post.

'which had led me everywhere up and down the Nation,[1] thereby 'giving me to see and know the temper and spirits of all men, 'and of the best of men,—that the Nation loathed their 'sitting. [*Haselrig, Scott and others looking very grim.*] I 'knew it. And, so far as I could discern, when they *were* 'dissolved, there was not so much as the barking of a dog, 'or any general and visible repining at it! [*How astonishing 'there should not have been!*] You are not a few here present 'who can assert this as well as myself.

'And that there was high cause for their dissolution, is 'most evident: not only in regard there was a just fear of 'that Parliament's perpetuating themselves, but because it '"actually" was their design. "Yes"; had not their heels 'been trod upon by importunities from abroad, even to 'threats, I believe there never would have been "any" 'thoughts of rising, or of going out of that Room, to the 'world's end. I myself was sounded, and, by no mean 'persons [*O Sir Harry Vane!*], tempted; and proposals were 'made me to that very end: That the Parliament[2] might be 'thus perpetuated; that the vacant places might be supplied 'by new elections;—and so continue from generation to 'generation.

'I have declined, I have declined very much, to open these 'things to you. [*What noble man would not, your High-'ness?*] But, having proceeded thus far, I must tell you '"this also": That poor men, under this arbitrary power, 'were driven, like flocks of sheep, by forty in a morning; to 'the confiscation of goods and estates; without any man 'being able to give a reason why two of them had deserved 'to forfeit a shilling![3] I tell you the truth. And my soul, 'and many persons' whom I see in this place, were exceed-'ingly grieved at these things; and knew not which way to 'help them, except by our mournings, and giving our

[1] While soldiering, etc.: the original has, 'which was to run up and down the Nation.'

[2] 'it' in orig.

[3] Antea, p. 19.

'negatives when occasion served.—I have given you but a 'taste of miscarriages "that then were." I am confident you 'have had opportunities to hear much more of them; for 'nothing was more obvious. It 's true this will be said, That 'there was a remedy endeavoured: To put an end to this 'Perpetual Parliament, by giving us a future Representative. 'How that was gotten, by what importunities that was 'obtained, and how unwillingly yielded unto, is well known.

'"But," what *was* this remedy? It was a seeming willing-'ness to give us Successive Parliaments. And what was "the 'nature of" that Succession? It was, That when one Parlia-'ment had left its seat, another was to sit down immediately 'in the room thereof, without any caution to avoid what was 'the real danger, namely, Perpetuating of the same "men 'in" Parliaments. Which is a sore, now, that will ever be 'running, so long as men are ambitious, and troublesome,— 'if a remedy be not found.

'Nay, at best what will such a remedy amount to? It is 'a conversion of a Parliament that would have been and was 'Perpetual, to a Legislative Power Always Sitting! [*Which, however, consists of different men, your Highness!*] And so 'the liberties and interests and lives of people *not* judged by 'any certain known Laws and Power, but by an arbitrary 'Power; which is incident and necessary to Parliaments. '[*So!*] By an arbitrary Power, I say:[1] to make men's 'estates liable to confiscation, and their persons to imprison-'ment,—sometimes "even" by laws made after the fact 'committed; often by the Parliament's assuming to itself to 'give judgment both in capital and criminal things, which in 'former times was not known to exercise such a judicature.[2]

[1] Such as the Long Parliament did continually exert.

[2] Intricate paragraphs, this and the foregoing; treating of a subject complex in itself, and very delicate to handle before such an audience. His Highness's logic perhaps hobbles somewhat: but this strain of argument, which to us has fallen so dim and obsolete, was very familiar to the audience he was now addressing,—the staple indeed of what their debates for the last three days had been (Burton, i. Introd. pp. 25-33; Whitlocke, 587, etc.). 'Perpetuating of the

'This, I suppose, was the case "then before us." And, in 'my opinion, the remedy was fitted to the disease! Especi- 'ally coming in the rear of a Parliament which had so 'exercised its power and authority as that Parliament had 'done but immediately before.

'Truly I confess,—upon these grounds, and with the 'satisfaction of divers other persons who saw nothing could 'be had otherwise,—that Parliament was dissolved [*Not a 'doubt of it!*]: and we, desiring to see if a few might have 'been called together for some short time who might put the 'Nation into some way of certain settlement,—did call those 'Gentlemen [*The Little Parliament; we remember them!*] out of the several parts of the Nation. And as I have appealed 'to God before you already,[1]—though it be a tender thing 'to make appeals to God, yet in such exigences as these I 'trust it will not offend His Majesty; especially to make 'them before Persons that know God, and know what con- 'science is, and what it is to 'lie before the Lord'! I say, 'As a principal end in calling that Assembly was the settle- 'ment of the Nation, so a chief end to myself was to lay 'down the Power which was in my hands. [*Hum-m-m!*] I 'say to you again, in the Presence of that God who hath 'blessed, and been with me in all my adversities and successes: 'That was, as to myself, my greatest end! [*Your Highness —?—And 'God' with you ancients is not a fabulous polite Hearsay, but a tremendous all-irradiating Fact of Facts, not 'to be 'lied before' without consequences?*] A desire perhaps

same men in Parliament': that clearly is intolerable, says the first Paragraph. But not only so, says the second Paragraph, 'a Legislative Assembly always sitting,' though it consist of new men, is likewise intolerable: any Parliament, as the Long Parliament has too fatally taught us, if left to itself, is, by its nature, arbitrary, of unlimited power, liable to grow tyrannous;—ought therefore only to sit at due intervals, and to have other Powers (Protectorate, for example) ready to check it on occasion. All this the ancient audience understands very well; and the modern needs only to understand that they understood it.

[1] 'I know, and I hope I may say it,' follows in orig.,— deleted here, for light's sake, though characteristic.

'I am afraid, sinful enough, To be quit of the Power God 'had most clearly by His Providence[1] put into my hands, 'before He called me to lay it down; before those honest 'ends of our fighting were attained and settled.—I say, the 'Authority I had in my hand being so boundless as it was, '—for, by Act of Parliament, I was General of all the Forces 'in the three Nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland; in 'which unlimited condition I did not desire to live a day, '—we called that Meeting, for the ends before expressed.

'What the event and issue of that Meeting was, we may 'sadly remember. It hath much teaching in it,[2] and I hope 'will make us all wiser for the future! But, "in short," that 'Meeting not succeeding, as I already said unto you, and 'giving such a disappointment to our hopes, I shall not now 'make any repetition thereof: only the result was, That they 'came and brought to me a Parchment, signed by very much 'the major part of them; expressing their re-delivery and 'resignation of the power and authority that had been com-'mitted them back again into my hands. And I can say it, 'in the presence of divers persons here, who do know whether 'I lie in that [*Hum-m-m!*], That I did not know one tittle 'of that Resignation "of theirs," till they all came and 'brought it, and delivered it into my hands. Of this also 'there are in this presence many witnesses. [*Yes, many are 'convinced of it,—some not.*] I received this Resignation; 'having formerly used my endeavours and persuasions to keep 'them together. Observing their differences, I thought it 'my duty to give advice to them, that so I might prevail 'with them for union. But it had the effect I told you; 'and I had my disappointment.

'When this proved so, we were exceedingly to seek how 'to settle things for the future. My "own" Power was 'again, by this resignation, "become" as boundless and

[1] 'most providentially' in orig.: has not the modern meaning; means only as in the Text.

[2] Warning us not to quarrel, and get into insoluble theories, as they did.

'unlimited as before; all things being subjected to arbitrari-
'ness; and myself, "the only constituted authority that was
'left," a person having power over the three Nations, without
'bound or limit set;—and all Government, upon the matter,
'being dissolved; all *civil* administration at an end,[1]—as will
'presently appear. ['*A grave situation: but who brought us to it?*' *murmur my Lord Bradshaw and others.*]

'The Gentlemen that undertook to frame this Govern-
'ment[2] did consult divers days together (men of known
'integrity and ability), How to frame somewhat that might
'give us settlement. They did consult;—and that I was not
'privy to their councils they know it. [*Alas!*] —When they
'had finished their model in some measure, or made a good
'preparation of it, they became communicative. [*Hum-m-m!*]
'They told me that except I would undertake the Govern-
'ment, they thought things would hardly come to a com-
'posure or settlement, but blood and confusion would break
'in upon us. [*A plain truth they told.*] I refused it again
'and again; not complimentingly,—as they know, and as
'God knows! I confess, after many arguments, they urging
'on me, 'That I did not hereby receive anything which put
'me into a *higher* capacity than before; but that it *limited*
'me; that it bound my hands to act nothing without the
'consent of a Council, until the Parliament, and then limited
'"me" by the Parliament, as the Act of Government ex-
'presseth,'—I did accept it. I might repeat again to you, if
'it were needful, but I think it hardly is: I was arbitrary in
'power; having the Armies in the three Nations under my
'command;—and truly not very ill beloved by them, nor
'very ill beloved by the People. By the good People. And
'I believe I should have been more beloved if they had known
'the truth, as things *were*, before God and in themselves,
'and also before divers of those Gentlemen whom I but now
'mentioned unto you. [*His Highness is rallying; getting out*

[1] *Civil* Office-bearers feeling their commission to be ended.
[2] Plan or Model of Government.

'*of the Unutterable into the Utterable!*] I did, at the entreaty 'of divers Persons of Honour and Quality, at the entreaty of 'very many of the chief Officers of the Army then present, '—"at their entreaty" and at their request, I did accept of 'the place and title of PROTECTOR: and was, in the presence 'of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Judges, the 'Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, the 'Soldiery, divers Gentlemen, Citizens, and divers other people 'and persons of quality, and so forth,—accompanied to 'Westminster Hall; where I took the Oath to this Govern-'ment. [*Indisputably · draw your own inferences from it!*] 'This was not done in a corner: it was open and public!— 'This Government hath been exercised by a Council;[1] with 'a desire to be faithful in all things:—and, among all other 'trusts, to be faithful in *calling this Parliament.*

'And thus I have given you a very bare and lean Dis-'course;[2] which truly I have been necessitated to "do,"— 'and contracted in "the doing of," because of the unex-'pectedness of the occasion, and because I would not quite 'weary you nor myself. But this is a Narrative that discovers 'to you the series of Providences and of Transactions leading 'me into the condition wherein I now stand. The next thing 'I promised "to demonstrate to" you, wherein, I hope, I 'shall be briefer—Though I am sure the occasion does require 'plainness and freedom!—"But as to this first thing,"[3] 'That I brought not myself into this condition: surely in my 'own apprehension I did not! And whether I did not, the 'things being true which I have told you, I shall submit to

[1] According to the 'Instrument' or Program of it. [2] Narration.

[3] This paragraph is characteristic. One of Oliver's *warts.* His Highness, in haste to be through, is for breaking-off into the 'next thing,' with hope of greater 'brevity'; but then suddenly bethinks him that he has not yet quite completely winded-off the '*first* thing,' and so returns to that. The paragraph, stark nonsense in the original (where they that are patient of such can read it, *Parliamentary History*, xx. 357), indicates, on intense inspection, that this is the purport of it. A glimpse afforded us, through one of Oliver's confused regurgitations and incondite *mis*utterances of speech, into the real inner man of him. Of which there will be other instances as we proceed.

'your judgment. And there shall I leave it. Let God do 'what He pleaseth.

'The other thing, I say, that I am to speak of to you is, '"That I have not "borne," and do not bear, witness to my-'self." I am far from alluding to Him that said so![1] Yet 'truth, concerning a member of His, He will own, though 'men do not.—But I think, if I mistake not, I have a cloud 'of witnesses. I think so; let men be as froward as they 'will. [*My honourable friends!*] I have witness Within,— 'Without,—and Above! But I shall speak of my witnesses 'Without; having fully spoken of the Witness who is Above, 'and "who is" in my own conscience, before. Under the 'other head[2] I spoke of these; because that subject had 'more obscurity in it, and I in some sort needed appeals;— 'and, I trust, might lawfully make them (as lawfully as take 'an oath), where the things were not so apt to be made 'evident "otherwise." [*In such circumstances, Yea!*] — I shall 'enumerate my witnesses as well as I can.

'When I had consented to accept of the Government, there 'was some Solemnity to be performed. And that was 'accompanied by some persons of considerableness in all 'respects: there were the persons before mentioned to you;[3] 'these accompanied me, at the time of my entering upon this 'Government, to Westminster Hall to receive my Oath. 'There was an express[4] consent on the part of these and 'other interested persons. And, "there was also" an implied 'consent of many; showing their good liking and approbation 'thereof. And, Gentlemen, I do not think you are alto-'gether strangers to it in your countries. Some did not 'nauseate it; very many did approve it.

[1] 'Then answered Jesus, and said unto them,——If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true. There is Another that beareth witness of me' (John v. 31, 32.)

[2] 'upon the other account' in orig. [3] 'before expressed' in orig.

[4] 'explicit' and 'implicit' in the original; but we must say 'express' and 'implied,'—the word 'implicit' having now got itself tacked to 'faith' (*implicit-faith*), and become thereby hopelessly degraded from any independent meaning.

'I had the approbation of the Officers of the Army, in the 'three Nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland. I say, of 'the Officers: I had that by their "express" Remonstrances,[1] 'and under signature. But there went along with that 'express consent of theirs, an implied consent also "of a body" 'of persons who had "had" somewhat to do in the world; 'who had been instrumental, by God, to fight down the 'Enemies of God and of His People in the three Nations. [*The Soldiery of the Commonwealth. Persons of 'some considerableness,' these too!*] And truly, until my hands were 'bound, and I "was" limited (to my own great satisfaction, as 'many can bear me witness); while I had in my hands so 'great a power and arbitrariness,—the Soldiery were a very 'considerable part of these Nations, especially all Government 'being dissolved. I say, when all Government was thus 'dissolved, and nothing to keep things in order but the 'Sword! And yet they,—which many Histories will not 'parallel,—even they were desirous that things might come 'to a consistency; and arbitrariness be taken away; and the 'Government be put into "the hands of" a person limited and 'bounded, as in the Act of Settlement, whom they distrusted 'the least, and loved not the worst. [*Hear!*] There was 'another evidence "of consent, implied if not express."

'I would not forget the honourable and civil entertain- 'ment, with the approbation I found in the great City of 'London;[2]—which the City knows whether I directly or 'indirectly sought. And truly I do not think it folly to 'remember this. For it was very great and high; and very 'public; and "included" as numerous a body of those that 'are known by names and titles,—the several Corporations and 'Societies of Citizens in this City,—as hath at any time been 'seen in England. And not without some appearance of 'satisfaction also.—And I had not this witness only. I have

[1] Means 'Public Letters of Adherence.'

[2] Dinner, with all manner of gala, in the common Royal Style; 8th February 1653-4 (Whitlocke, 2d edition, p. 581).

'had from the greatest County in England, and from many 'Cities and Boroughs and Counties, express approbations. '"Express approbations" not of men gathered here and 'there, but from the County General Assizes;—the Grand 'Jury, in name of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Yeomen and 'Inhabitants of that County, giving very great thanks to me 'for undertaking this heavy burden at such a time; and 'giving very great approbation and encouragement to me 'to go through with it.[1] These are plain; I have them to 'show. And by these, in some measure, it will appear 'I do 'not bear witness to myself.'

'This is not all. The Judges,—truly I had almost for-'gotten it [*Another little window into his Highness!*],—the 'Judges, thinking that there had now come a dissolution to 'all Government, met and consulted; and did declare one 'to another, That they could not administer justice to the 'satisfaction of their consciences, until they had received 'Commissions from me. And they did receive Commissions 'from me; and by virtue of those Commissions they have 'acted:—and all Justices of the Peace that have acted have 'acted by virtue of like Commissions. Which was a little 'more than an implied approbation! And I believe all the 'Justice administered in the Nation hath been by this 'authority. Which also I lay before you; desiring you to 'think, Whether all those persons now mentioned must not 'come to you for an Act of Oblivion and General Pardon, 'for having acted under and testified to this Government, if 'it be disowned by you!—

'And I have two or three witnesses more,—equivalent to 'all these I have yet mentioned, if I be not mistaken, and 'greatly mistaken! If I should say, All *you* that are here 'are my witnesses,—I should say no untruth! I know that

[1] 'Humble Petition and Representation of the Grand Jury at the Assizes held at York, March 1653 (1654), in name of' etc. etc.: Newspapers; *Perfect Diurnal*, 3d-10th April 1654 (King's Pamphlets, large 4to, no. 82, § 12), and others.—Similar recognition 'by the Mayor' etc. etc. 'of the ancient City of York' (*ibid.*).

'you are the same persons here that you were in your 'countries[1]—But I will reserve this for a little; this will be 'the *issue*, "the general outcome and climax," of my Proof. [*Another little window:—almost a half-soliloquy; you see the 'Speech getting ready in the interior of his Highness.*] I say 'I have two or three witnesses, of still more weight than all I 'have counted and reckoned yet. All the People in England 'are my witnesses; and many in Ireland and Scotland! All 'the Sheriffs in England are my witnesses: and all that have 'come-in upon a Process issued out by Sheriffs are my 'witnesses. [*My honourable friends, how did* YOU *come in?*] 'Yea, the Returns of the Elections to the Clerk of the 'Crown,—not a thing to be blown away by a breath,—the 'Return on behalf of the Inhabitants in the Counties, Cities 'and Boroughs, all are my witnesses of approbation to the 'Condition and Place I stand in.

'And I shall now make *you* my last witnesses! [*Here 'comes it, 'the issue of my Proof'!*] And shall ask you, 'Whether you came not hither by my Writs directed to the 'several Sheriffs "of Counties," and through the Sheriffs to 'the other Officers of Cities and Liberties? To which '"Writs" the People gave obedience; having also had the 'Act of Government communicated to them,—to which end 'great numbers of copies "thereof" were sent down to be 'communicated to them. And the Government[2] "was" also 'required to be distinctly read unto the People at the place 'of election, to avoid surprises, "or misleadings of them 'through their ignorance";—where also they signed the 'Indenture,[3] with proviso, 'That the Persons so chosen 'should *not* have power to alter the Government as now 'settled in one Single Person and a Parliament!' [*My 'honourable friends*—?]—And thus I have made good my 'second Assertion, 'That I bear not witness to myself'; but

[1] Where you had to acknowledge me before election, he means, but does not yet see good to say.

[2] Act or Instrument of Government.

[3] Writ of Return.

'that the good People of England and you all are my 'witnesses.

'Yea, surely!—And "now" this being so,—though I told 'you in my last Speech 'that you were a Free Parliament,' yet 'I thought it was understood withal that I was the Protector, 'and the Authority that called you! That I was in possession of the Government by a good right from God and men! 'And I believe if the learnedest men in this Nation were 'called to show a precedent, equally clear, of a Government 'so many ways approved of, they would not in all their search 'find it.—I did not in my other Speech take upon me to 'justify the "Act of" Government in every particular; and I 'told you the reason, which was plain: The Act of Government was public, and had long been published, "in order" 'that it might be under the most serious inspection of all 'that pleased to peruse it.

'This is what I had to say at present for approving[1] myself 'to God and my conscience in my actions throughout this 'undertaking; and for giving cause of approving myself to 'every one of your consciences in the sight of God.—And if 'the fact be so, why should we sport with it? With a 'business so serious! May not this character, this stamp [*Stamp put upon a man by the Most High and His providences*], bear equal poise with any Hereditary Interest that 'could furnish, or hath furnished, in the Common Law or 'elsewhere, matter of dispute and trial of learning? In the 'like of which many have exercised more wit, and spilt more 'blood, than I hope ever to live to see or hear of again in 'this Nation! [*Red and White Roses, for example; Henry of 'Bolingbroke, and the last 'Protector.*']—I say, I do not know 'why I may not balance this Providence, in the sight of God, 'with *any* Hereditary Interest [*Nor do I!*]; as a thing *less* 'subject to those cracks and flaws which that "other" is

[1] 'By what I have said, I have approved,' etc. in orig.: but rhetorical charity required the change.

'commonly incident unto; the disputing of which has cost 'more blood in former times in this Nation than we have 'leisure to speak of now!—

'Now if this be thus, and I am deriving a title from God 'and men upon such accounts as these are—Although some 'men be froward, yet that *your* judgments who are Persons 'sent from all parts of the Nation under the notion of *approv-* 'ing this Government—[*His Highness, bursting with meaning, completes neither of these sentences; but pours himself, like an* 'irregular torrent, *through other orifices and openings.*]—For 'you to disown or not to own it: for you to act with Parlia- 'mentary Authority especially in the disowning of it; contrary 'to the very fundamental things, yea against the very root it- 'self of this Establishment: to sit and not own the Authority 'by which you sit,— —is that which I believe astonisheth 'more men than myself; and doth as dangerously disappoint 'and discompose the Nation as any thing "that" could have 'been invented by the greatest enemy to our peace and 'welfare, or "that" could well have happened. [*Sorrow, anger and reproach on his Highness's countenance; the voice risen somewhat into* ALT, *and rolling with a kind of rough music in the tones of it!*]

'It is true, as there are some things in the Establishment 'which are Fundamental, so there are others which are not, 'but are Circumstantial. Of these no question but I shall 'easily agree to vary, to leave out, "according" as I shall be 'convinced by reason. But some things are Fundamentals! 'About which I shall deal plainly with you: These may *not* 'be parted with; but will, I trust, be delivered over to 'Posterity, as the fruits of our blood and travail. The 'Government by a single Person and a Parliament is a Funda- 'mental! It is the *esse*, it is constitutive. And as for the 'Person,—though I may seem to plead for myself, yet I do 'not: no, nor can any reasonable man say it. If the things 'throughout this Speech be true, I plead for this Nation, and 'for all honest men therein who have borne their testimony

'as aforesaid, and not for myself! And if things should 'do otherwise than well (which I would not fear), and the 'Common Enemy and discontented persons take advantage of 'these distractions, the issue will be put up before God: let 'Him own it, or let Him disown it, as He pleases!—

'In every Government there must be Somewhat Funda- 'mental [*Will speak now of Fundamentals*], Somewhat like a '*Magna Charta*, which should be standing, be unalterable. 'Where there is a stipulation on one side, and that fully 'accepted, as appears by what hath been said,—surely a 'return[1] ought to be; else what does that stipulation signify? 'If I have, upon the terms aforesaid, undertaken this great 'Trust, and exercised it; and by it called *you*,—surely it 'ought "by you" to be owned.—That Parliaments should not 'make themselves perpetual is a Fundamental. [*Yea; all 'know it: taught by the example of the Rump!*] Of what 'assurance is a *Law* to prevent so great an evil, if it lie in the 'same Legislature to *un*law it again? [*Must have a Single 'Person to check your Parliament.*] Is such a Law like to be 'lasting? It will be a rope of sand; it will give no security; 'for the same men may unbuild what they have built.

'"Again," is not Liberty of Conscience in Religion a Funda- 'mental? So long as there is Liberty of Conscience for the 'Supreme Magistrate to exercise his conscience in erecting what 'Form of Church-Government he is satisfied he should set up ['HE *is to decide on the Form of Church-Government, then?*' '*The Moderns, especially the Voluntary Principle, stare*],—why 'should he not give the like liberty to others? Liberty of 'Conscience is a natural right; and he that would have it, 'ought to give it; having "himself" liberty to settle what he 'likes for the Public. ['*Where, then, are the limits of Dissent?*' *An abstruse question, my Voluntary friends; especially with a 'Gospel really* BELIEVED*!*] Indeed that hath been one of the 'vanities of our Contest. Every Sect saith: 'Oh, give me 'liberty!' But give it him, and to his power he will not

[1] reciprocal engagement.

'yield it to anybody else. Where is our ingenuousness? '"Liberty of Conscience"—truly that is a thing ought to be 'very reciprocal! The Magistrate hath *his* supremacy; he 'may settle Religion, "that is, Church-Government," according 'to his conscience. And "as for the People"—I may say it 'to you, I can say it: All the money of this Nation would 'not have tempted men to fight upon such an account as they 'have here been engaged in, if they had not had hopes of 'Liberty "of Conscience" better than Episcopacy granted 'them, or than would have been afforded by a Scots Presbytery, '—or an English either, if it had made such steps, and been 'as sharp and rigid, as it threatened when first set up![1] 'This, I say, is a Fundamental. It ought to be so. It is 'for us and the generations to come. And if there be an 'absoluteness in the Imposer [*As you seem to argue*] without 'fitting allowances and exceptions from the rule ['*Fitting*': '*that is a wide word!*],—we shall have the People driven into 'wildernesses. As they were, when those poor and afflicted 'people, who forsook their estates and inheritances here, where 'they lived plentifully and comfortably, were necessitated, for 'enjoyment of their Liberty, to go into a waste howling 'wilderness in New England;—where they have, for Liberty's 'sake, stript themselves of all their comfort; embracing rather 'loss of friends and want than be so ensnared and in bondage. '[*Yea!*]

'Another "Fundamental" which I had forgotten is the 'Militia. That is judged a Fundamental if anything be so. 'That *it* should be well and equally placed is very necessary. 'For, put the absolute power of the Militia into "the hands 'of" one "Person,"—without a check, what doth it serve? '"On the other hand," I pray you, what check is there upon 'your Perpetual Parliaments, if the Government be wholly

[1] Liberty of Conscience must not be refused to a People who have fought and conquered 'upon such an account' as ours was! For more of Oliver's notions concerning the Magistrate's power in Church matters, see his Letter to the Scotch Clergy, Letter CXLVIII. vol. ii. p. 232.

'stript of this of the Militia? "This as we now have it" is[1] 'equally placed, and men's desires were to have it so;— 'namely, in one Person, and in the Parliament "along with 'him," while the Parliament sits. What signified a provision 'against perpetuating of Parliaments, if this power of the 'Militia be solely in *them*? Think, Whether without some 'check, the Parliament have it not in their power to alter 'the Frame of Government altogether,—into Aristocracy, 'Democracy, into Anarchy, into anything, if this "of the 'Militia" be fully in them! Yea, into all confusion; and that 'without remedy! If this one thing be placed in one "party," 'that one, be it Parliament, be it Supreme Governor, hath 'power to make what he pleases of all the rest. ['*Hum-m-m!*' '*from the old Parliament.*]—Therefore if you would have a 'balance at all; if you agree that some Fundamentals must 'stand, as worthy to be delivered over to Posterity,—truly I 'think it is not unreasonably urged that "this power of" 'the Militia should be disposed as we have it in the Act of 'Government;—should be placed so equally that no one 'party neither in Parliament nor out of Parliament have the 'power of ordering it. "Well";—the Council are the 'Trustees of the Commonwealth, in all *intervals* of Parlia- 'ment; and have as absolute a negative upon the Supreme 'Officer in the said intervals, as the Parliament hath while it 'is sitting. [*So that we are safe—or safish, your Highness?* '*No one party has power of the Militia at any time.*] The 'power of the Militia cannot be made use of; not a man can 'be raised, nor a penny charged upon the People, nothing can 'be done, without consent of Parliament; and in the intervals 'of Parliament, without consent of the Council. Give me 'leave to say, There is very little power, none but what is 'coördinate, "placed" in the Supreme Officer; and yet enough 'in him in that particular. He is bound in strictness by the 'Parliament, and out of Parliament by the Council, who do as 'absolutely bind him as the Parliament while sitting doth.—

[1] 'It is' in orig.

'As for that of Money—I told you some things were 'Circumstantials [*Comes to the Circumstantials*];—as, for 'example, this is: That we should have 200,000*l.* to defray 'Civil Offices,—to pay the Judges and other Officers; to defray 'the charges of the Council in sending their embassies, in 'keeping intelligence, and doing what is necessary; and to 'support the Governor in Chief:[1] All this is, by the Instru-'ment, supposed and intended. But it is not of the *esse* so 'much; nor "is it" limited "so strictly" as "even" the 'number of Soldiers is,—20,000 Foot and 10,000 Horse. [*Guard even afar off against any sinking below the minimum 'in that!*] Yet if the spirits of men were composed, 5,000 'Horse and 10,000 Foot might serve. These things are "Cir-'cumstantial," are between the Chief Officer and the Parlia-'ment, to be moderated, "regulated," as occasion shall offer.

'Of this sort there are many Circumstantial things, which 'are not like the laws of the Medes and Persians. But the 'things which shall be necessary to deliver over to Posterity, 'these should be unalterable. Else every succeeding Parlia-'ment will be disputing to alter the Government; and we 'shall be as often brought into confusion as we have Parlia-'ments and so make our remedy our disease. The Lord's 'Providence, evil "effects" appearing, and good appearing, 'and better judgment "in ourselves," will give occasion for 'ordering of things to the best interest of the People. Those '"Circumstantial" things are the matter of consideration 'between you and me.

'I have indeed almost tired myself. What I have farther 'to say is this [*Does not yet say it*]—I would it had not been 'needful for me to call you hither to expostulate these things 'with you, and in such a manner as this! But Necessity 'hath no law. Feigned necessities, imaginary necessities,—'"certainly these" are the greatest cozenage that men can 'put upon the Providence of God, and make pretences to 'break known rules by. "Yes"; but it is *as* legal, "contrary

[1] Instrument of Government, Art. 27 (*Somers Tracts*, vi. 294).

'to God's free Grace," as carnal, and as stupid [*A tone of anger*], to think that there are no Necessities which are 'manifest "and real," because necessities may be abused or 'feigned! And truly that were my case[1] if I should so think '"here"; and I hope none of you so think. I have to say '[*Says it now*]: The wilful throwing-away of this Govern-'ment, such as it is, so owned by God, so approved by men, 'so witnessed to (in the Fundamentals of it) as was mentioned 'above, "were a thing which,"—and in reference "not to *my* 'good, but" to the good of these Nations and of Posterity, '—I can sooner be willing to be rolled into my grave and 'buried with infamy, than I can give my consent unto! [*Never!—Do you catch the tone of that voice, reverberating, like thunder from the roof of the Painted Chamber, over the heads of Bradshaw, Haselrig, Scott and Company; the aspect of that face, with its lion-mouth and mournful eyes,—kindled now and radiant all of it, with sorrow, with rebuke and wrathful defiance?—Bradshaw and Company look on it unblanched; but will be careful not to provoke such a one. There lie penalties in him!*]

'You have been called hither to save a Nation,—Nations. 'You had the best People, indeed, of the Christian world put 'into your trust, when you came hither. You had the affairs 'of these Nations delivered over to you in peace and quiet; 'you were, and we all are, put into an undisturbed possession, 'nobody making title to us. Through the blessing of God, 'our enemies were hopeless and scattered. We had peace 'at home; peace with almost all our Neighbours round 'about,—apt "otherwise" to take advantages where God 'did administer them. "These things we had, few days ago, 'when you came hither. And now?"—To have our peace 'and interest, whereof those were our hopes the other day, 'thus shaken, and put under such a confusion; and ourselves '[*Chiefly* '*I*'] rendered hereby almost the scorn and con-'tempt of those strangers [*Dutch Ambassadors and the like*]

[1] To be legal, and carnal and stupid.

'who are amongst us to negotiate their masters' affairs! To 'give *them* opportunity to see our nakedness as they do: 'A 'people that have been unhinged this twelve-years day,[1] and 'are unhinged still,'—as if scattering, division and confusion 'came upon us like things we desired: "*these*," which are the 'greatest plagues that God ordinarily lays upon Nations for 'sin!

'I would be loath to say these are matters of our desire.[2] 'But if not, then why not matters of our *care*,—as wisely as 'by our utmost endeavours we might, to *avoid* them! Nay 'if, by such actings as these "now" are, these poor Nations 'shall be thrown into heaps and confusion, through blood, 'and ruin, and trouble[3]—And upon the saddest account that 'ever was, if breaking "and confusion" should come upon us; '—all because we would not settle when we could, when 'God put it into our hands! Your affairs now almost settled 'everywhere: and to have all recoil upon us; and ourselves '"to be" shaken in our affections, loosened from all known 'and public interests:—as I said before, who shall answer 'for these things to God?

'Who can answer for these things to God, or to men? '"To men"—to the People who sent you hither; who looked 'for refreshment from you; who looked for nothing but peace 'and quietness, and rest and settlement? When we come to 'give an account to them, we shall have it to say, 'Oh, we 'quarrelled for the *Liberty of England*; we contested, and '"went to confusion," for that!'—"Now," Wherein, I pray 'you, for the 'Liberty of England'? I appeal to the Lord, 'that the desires and endeavours we have had— —Nay the 'things will speak for themselves. The 'Liberty of England,' 'the Liberty of the People; the avoiding of tyrannous imposi- 'tions either upon men as men, or Christians as Christians; '—is made so safe by this Act of Settlement, that it will

[1] An old phrase; 'day' emphatic. [2] Politely oblique for 'your desire.'
[3] 'what shall we then say?' his Highness means, but does not complete the sentence,—as is sometimes his habit.

'speak for itself. And when it shall appear to the world 'what "really" hath been said and done by all of us, and 'what our real transactions were—For God can discover; no 'Privilege [*What! Not even Privilege of Parliament?*] will 'hinder the Lord from discovering! No Privilege, or con-'dition of man can hide from the Lord; He can and will 'make all manifest, if He see it for His glory![1]—And when 'these "things, as I say," shall be manifested; and the People 'will come and ask, 'Gentlemen, what condition is this we 'are in? We hoped for light; and behold darkness, obscure 'darkness! We hoped for rest after ten-years Civil War, but 'are plunged into deep confusion again!'—Ay; we know 'these consequences will come upon us, if God Almighty shall 'not find out some way to prevent them.

'I had a thought within myself, That it would not have 'been dishonest nor dishonourable, nor against true Liberty, 'no, not "the Liberty" of Parliaments, "if," when a Parlia-'ment was so chosen "as you have been," in pursuance of 'this Instrument of Government, and in conformity to it, and 'with such an approbation and consent to it,—some Owning 'of your Call and of the Authority which brought you hither, 'had been required before your entrance into the House. '[*Deep silence in the audience.*] This was declined, and hath 'not been done, because I am persuaded scarce any man could 'doubt you came with contrary minds. And I have reason to 'believe the people that sent you least of all doubted thereof. 'And therefore I must deal plainly with you: What I forbore 'upon a just confidence at first, you necessitate me unto now! '[*Paleness on some faces.*] Seeing the Authority which called 'you is so little valued, and so much slighted,—till some such 'Assurance be given and made known, that the Fundamental 'Interest shall be settled and approved according to the 'proviso in the "Writ of" Return, and such a consent testi-'fied as will make it appear that the same is accepted, I HAVE

[1] 'Privilege' of Parliament, in those days, strenuously forbids *reporting*; but it will not serve in the case referred to!

'CAUSED A STOP TO BE PUT TO YOUR ENTRANCE INTO THE PARLIA-
'MENT HOUSE. [*You understand that, my honourable friends?*]

'I am sorry, I am sorry, and I could be sorry to the death,
'that there is cause for this! But there is cause: and if
'things be not satisfied which are reasonably demanded, I, for
'my part, will do that which becomes *me*, seeking my counsel
'from God.—There is therefore Somewhat [*A bit of written*
'*Parchment!*] to be offered to you; which I hope will answer,
'being understood with the qualifications I have told you,—
'"namely, of" reforming as to Circumstantials, and agreeing
'in the Substance and Fundamentals, "that is to say," in
'the Form of Government now settled, which is expressly
'stipulated in your Indentures 'not to be altered.' The
'making of your minds known in that by giving your assent
'and subscription to it, is the means that will let you in, to
'act those things as a Parliament which are for the good of
'the People. And this thing [*The Parchment!*], "when once
'it is" shown to you and signed as aforesaid, doth determine
'the controversy; and may give a happy progress and issue
'to this Parliament. [*Honourable gentlemen look in one*
another's faces,—find general blank.]

'The place where you may come thus and sign, as many as
'God shall make free thereunto, is in the Lobby without the
'Parliament Door. [*My honourable friends, you know the*
way, don't you?]— —

'The "Instrument of" Government doth declare that you
'have a legislative power without a negative from me. As
'the Instrument doth express it, you may make any Laws;
'and if I give not my consent, within twenty days, to the
'passing of your Laws, they are *ipso facto* Laws, whether I
'consent or no,—if not contrary to the "Frame of" Govern-
'ment. You have an absolute Legislative Power in all
'things that can possibly concern the good and interest of
'the public; and I think you may make these Nations happy
'by this Settlement. And I, for my part, shall be willing to
'be bound more than I am, in anything concerning which I

'can become convinced that it may be for the good of the 'People, or tend to the preservation of the Cause and Interest 'so long contended for.'*

Go your ways, my honourable friends, and sign, so many of you as God hath made free thereunto! The place, I tell you, is in the Lobby without the Parliament Door. The 'Thing,' as you will find there, is a bit of Parchment with these words engrossed on it. '*I do hereby freely promise, and engage myself, to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and shall not (according to the tenor of the Indenture whereby I am returned to serve in this present Parliament) propose, or give my consent, to alter the Government as it is settled in a Single Person and a Parliament.*'[1] Sign that, or go home again to your countries.

Let honourable gentlemen therefore consider what they will do!—'About a Hundred signed directly, within an hour.' Guibon Goddard and all the Norfolk Members (except one, who was among the direct Hundred) went and 'had dinner together,' to talk the matter over;—mostly thought it would be better to sign; and did sign, all but some two. The number who have signed this first day, we hear, is a Hundred-and-twenty, a Hundred-and-thirty, nay a Hundred-and-forty.[2] Blank faces of honourable gentlemen begin to take meaning again,—some mild, some grim. Tomorrow being Fastday, there is an adjournment. The recusants are treated 'with all tenderness'; most of them come-in by degrees: 'Three-hundred before the month ends.'

Deep Republicans, Bradshaw, Haselrig, Thomas Scott and the like, would not come-in; still less would shallow noisy ones, as Major Wildman;—went home to their countries again, their blank faces settling into permanent grim. My

* Old Pamphlet, brother to the foregoing; reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 349-69.

[1] Whitlocke, p. 587. [2] Goddard, Whitlocke, Letter in *Thurloe*.

Lord Protector molested no man for his recusancy; did indeed take that absence as a comparative favour from the parties. Harrison and other suspect persons are a little looked after: the Parliament resumes its function as if little had happened. With a singular acquiescence on the part of the Public, write our correspondents, Dutch and other. The Public, which I have known rebel against crowned Kings for twitching the tippet of a Parliament, permits this Lord Protector to smite it on the cheek, and say, 'Have a care, wilt thou!' Perhaps this Lord Protector is believed to mean better than the King did? There is a difference in the objects of men, as the Public understands;—a difference in the men too for rebelling against! At any rate, here is singular submission everywhere; and my Lord Protector getting ready a powerful Sea Armament, neither his Parliament nor any other creature can yet guess for what.[1]

Goddard's report of this Parliament is distinct enough; brief, and not without some points of interest; 'the misfortune is,' says one Commentator, 'he does not give us *names*.' Alas, a much greater misfortune is, the Parliament itself is hardly worth naming! It did not prove a successful Parliament;—it held on by mere Constitution-building; and effected, so to speak, nothing. Respectable Pedant persons; never doubting but the Ancient sacred Sheepskins would serve for the New Time, which also has its sacredness; thinking, full surely, constitutional logic was the thing England now needed of them! Their History shall remain blank, to the end of the world. I have read their Debates, and counsel no other man to do it. Wholly upon the 'Institution of Government,' modelling, new-modelling, of that: endless anxious spider-webs of constitutional logic; vigilant checks, constitutional jealousies, etc. etc. To be forgotten by all creatures.

They had a Committee of Godly Ministers sitting in the

[1] Dutch Ambassadors, French, etc., in *Thurloe*, ii. 606, 613, 638 (15th, 18th Sept.; 9th Oct.). See also Appendix, No. 28.

Jerusalem Chamber; a kind of miniature Assembly of Divines; intent upon 'Scandalous Ministers and Schoolmasters,' upon tender consciences, and the like objects: but there were only Twenty in this Assembly; they could hardly ever get fairly under way at all;—and have left in English History no trace that I could see of their existence, except a very reasonable Petition, noted in the Record, that the Parliament would be pleased to advance them a little money towards the purchase of fire and candle,—in these cold dark months. The Parliament, I hope, allowed them coals and a few tallow-lights; but neither they nor it could accomplish anything towards the Settling of a Godly Ministry in England: my Lord Protector and *his* Commissions will have to settle that too; an object dear to all good men. This Parliament spent its time in constitutional jangling, in vigilant contrivance of balances, checks, and that species of entities. With difficulty could, at rare intervals, a hasty stingy vote, not for the indispensable Supplies, but for some promise of them, be wrung from it. An unprofitable Parliament.

For the rest, they had Biddle the Socinian before them; a poor Gloucester Schoolmaster once, now a very conspicuous Heresiarch, apparently of mild but entirely obstinate manners, —poor devil: him they put into the Gatehouse; him and various others of that kidney. Especially 'Theauro John, who laid about him with a drawn sword at the door of the Parliament House one day,'[1]—a man clearly needing to be confined, 'Theauro John': his name had originally been John Davy, if I recollect; but the Spirit, in some preternatural hour, revealed to him that it ought to be as above. Poor Davy: his labours, life-adventures, financial arrangements, painful biography in general, are all unknown to us; till, on this 'Saturday 30th December 1654,' he very clearly 'knocks loud at the door of the Parliament House,' as much as to say, 'What is this *you* are upon?' and 'lays about him with a drawn sword';—after which all again becomes unknown. Seemingly

[1] Whitlocke, p. 592. See Goddard (in *Burton*, i. Introd. cxxvi.).

a kind of Quaker. Does the reader know James Nayler, and the devout women worshipping him? George Fox, in his suit of leather, independent of mankind, looks down into the soft Vale of Belvoir, native 'Vale of Bever': Do not the whispering winds and green fields, do not the still smoke-pillars from these poor cottages under the eternal firmaments, say in one's heart, 'George, canst thou do nothing for us? George, wilt thou not help us from the wrath to come?' George finds in the Vale of Bever 'a very tender people.' In fact, most singular Quakerisms, frightful Socinianisms, and other portents, are springing up rife in England.

Oliver objected, now and always, to any very harsh punishment of Biddle and Company, much as he abhorred their doctrines. Why burn, or brand, or otherwise torment them, poor souls? They, wandering as we all do seeking for a door of hope into the Eternities, have, being tempted of the Devil as we all likewise are, *missed* the door of hope; and gone tumbling into dangerous gulfs,—dangerous, but not yet beyond the mercy of God. Do not burn them. They meant, some of them, *well;* bear, visibly to me, the scars of stern true battle against the Enemy of Man. Do not burn them;—lock them up, that they may not mislead others. On frugal wholesome diet in Pendennis Castle, or Elizabeth Castle in Jersey, or here in the Clink Prison at London, they will not cost you much, and may arrive at some composure. Branding and burning is an ugly business; —as little of that as you can.

Friday 29th September 1654. His Highness, say the old Lumber-Books, went into Hyde Park; made a small picnic dinner under the trees, with Secretary Thurloe, attended by a few servants;—was, in fact, making a small pleasure excursion, having in mind to try a fine new team of horses, which the Earl or Duke of Oldenburg had lately sent him. Dinner done, his Highness himself determined to drive,—two in hand I think, with a postillion driving other two. The horses, beautiful animals, tasting of the whip, became unruly;

galloped, would not be checked, but took to plunging; plunged the postillion down; plunged or shook his Highness down, 'dragging him by the foot for some time,' so that 'a pistol went off' in his pocket,' to the amazement of men. Whereupon? Whereupon—his Highness got up again, little the worse; was let blood; and went about his affairs much as usual![1] Small anecdote, that figures, larger than life, in all the Books and Biographies. I have known men thrown from their horses on occasion, and less noise made about it, my erudite friend! But the essential point was, his Highness wore a pistol.—Yes, his Highness is prepared to defend himself; has men, and has also truculent-flunkies, and devils and devil's-servants of various kinds, to defend himself against; —and wears pistols, and what other furniture outward and inward may be necessary for the object. Such of you as have an eye that way can take notice of it!—

Thursday 16*th November* 1654. On the other hand, what a glimpse into the interior domesticities of the Protector Household have we in the following brief Note! Amid the darkness and buzzard dimness, one light-beam, clear, radiant, mournfully beautiful, like the gleam of a sudden star, disclosing for a moment many things to us! On Friday, Secretary Thurloe writes incidentally: 'My Lord Protector's Mother, of Ninety-four years old, died last night. A little before her death she gave my Lord her blessing, in these words: "The Lord cause His face to shine upon you; and comfort you in all your adversities; and enable you to do great things for the glory of your Most High God, and to be a relief unto His People. My dear Son, I leave my heart with thee. A good night!"'[2]—and therewith sank into her long sleep. Even so. Words of ours are but idle. Thou brave one, Mother of a Hero, farewell!—Ninety-four years old: the royalties of Whitehall, says Ludlow very credibly, were of

[1] Thurloe, i. 652-3; Ludlow, ii. 508.

[2] Thurloe to Pell, 17th November 1654: in Vaughan's *Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1839), i. 81.

small moment to her: 'at the sound of a musket she would often be afraid her Son was shot; and could not be satisfied unless she saw him once a day at least.'[1] She, old, weak, wearied one, she cannot help him with his refractory Pedant Parliaments, with his Anabaptist plotters, Royalist assassins, and world-wide confusions; but she bids him, Be strong, be comforted in God. And so Good-night! And in the still Eternities and divine Silences—Well, *are* they not divine?—

December 26th, 1654. The refractory Parliament and other dim confusions still going on, we mark as a public event of some significance, the sailing of his Highness's Sea-Armament. It has long been getting ready on the Southern Coast; sea-forces, land-forces; sails from Portsmouth on Christmas morrow, as above marked.[2]—None yet able to divine whither bound; not even the Generals, Venables and Penn, till they reach a certain latitude. Many are much interested to divine! Our Brussels Correspondent writes long since, 'The Lord Protector's Government makes England more formidable and considerable to all Nations than ever it has been in my days.'[3]

LETTERS CXCVI, CXCVII

HERE are Two small Letters, harmlessly reminding us of far interests and of near;—otherwise yielding no new light; but capable of being read without commentary. Read them; and let us hasten to dissolve the poor Constitutioning Parliament, which ought not to linger on these pages, or on any page.

[1] Ludlow, ii. 488.
[2] Penn's Narrative, in *Thurloe*, iv. 28.
[3] Thurloe, i. 160 (11th March 1653-4).

LETTER CXCVI

TO RICHARD BENNET, ESQ., GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA: THESE

Whitehall, 12th January 1654.

Sir,—Whereas the differences between the Lord Baltimore and the Inhabitants of Virginia, concerning the Bounds by them respectively claimed, are depending before our Council, and yet undetermined; and whereas we are credibly informed, you have notwithstanding gone into his Plantation in Maryland, and countenanced some people there in opposing the Lord Baltimore's Officers; whereby, and with other forces from Virginia, you have much disturbed that Colony and People, to the endangering of tumults and much bloodshed there, if not timely prevented:

We therefore, at the request of the Lord Baltimore, and "of" divers other Persons of Quality here, who are engaged by great adventures in his interest, do, for preventing of disturbances or tumults there, will and require you, and all others deriving any authority from you, To forbear disturbing the Lord Baltimore, or his Officers or People in Maryland; and to permit all things to remain as they were before any disturbance or alteration made by you, or by any other upon pretence of authority from you, till the said Differences above mentioned be determined by us here, and we give farther order therein. We rest your loving friend,

*OLIVER P.**

Commissioners, it would appear, went out to settle the business; got it, we have no doubt, with due difficulty settled. See Letter CCIII.,—26th September 1655, 'To the Commissioners of Maryland.'

* Thurloe, i. 724. The Signature only is Oliver's; signature, and sense. Thurloe has jotted on the back of this: 'A duplicate also hereof was writ, signed by his Highness.'

LETTER CXCVII

HERE again, while the Pedant Parliament keeps arguing and constitutioning, are discontents in the Army that threaten to develop themselves. Dangerous fermentings of Fifth-Monarchy and other bad ingredients, in the Army and out of it; encouraged by the Parliamentary height of temperature. Charles Stuart, on the word of a Christian King, is extensively bestirring himself. Royalist preparations, provisions of arms; Anabaptist Petitions: abroad and at home very dangerous designs on foot: but we have our eye upon them.

The Scotch Army seems, at present, the questionablest. 'The pay of the men is thirty weeks in arrear,' for one thing; the Anabaptist humour needs not that addition! Colonel Alured, we saw, had to be dismissed the Service last year; Overton and others were questioned, and not dismissed. But now some desperate scheme has risen among the Forces in Scotland, of deposing General Monk, of making Republican Overton Commander,—and so marching off, all but the indispensable Garrison-troops, south into England, *there* to seek pay and other redress.[1] This Parliament, now in its Fourth Month, supplies no money; nothing but constitutional debatings. My Lord Protector had need be watchful! He again, in this December, summons Overton from Scotland; again questions him;—sees good, this time, to commit him to the Tower,[2] and end his military services. The Army, in Scotland and elsewhere, with no settlement yet to its vague fermenting humours, and not even money to pay its arrears, is dangerous enough.

Of Adjutant-General Allen whom this Letter concerns, it may be proper to say that Ludlow in mentioning him has mistaken his man. The reader recollects, a good while ago,

[1] Postea, Speech IV.; and Thurloe, iii. 110, etc.

[2] 16th January 1654-5 (Overton's Letter, *Thurloe*, iii. 110).

Three Troopers, notable at the moment, who appeared once before the Long Parliament, with a Petition from the Army, in the year Forty-seven? Their names were Allen, Sexby, Sheppard: Ludlow will have it, the Trooper Allen was this Adjutant-General Allen;[1] which is a mistake of Ludlow's. Trooper Sexby we did since see, as Captain Sexby, after Preston Fight; and shall again, in sad circumstances see: but of Trooper Allen there is no farther vestige anywhere except this imaginary one; of Trooper Sheppard not even an imaginary vestige. They have vanished, these two; and Adjutant-General Allen, vindicating his identity such as it is, enters here on his own footing. A resolute devout man, whom we have seen before; the same who was deep in the Prayer-Meeting at Windsor years ago:[2] this is his third, and we hope his last appearance on the stage of things.

Allen has been in Ireland, since that Prayer-Meeting; in Ireland and elsewhere, resolutely fighting, earnestly praying, as from of old; has had many darkenings of mind; expects, for almost a year past, 'little good from the Governments of this world,' one or the other. He has honoured, and still would fain honour, 'the Person now in chief place,' having seen in him much 'uprightheartedness to the Lord'; must confess, however, 'the late Change hath more stumbled me than any ever did';—and, on the whole, knows not what he will resolve upon.[3] We find he has resolved on quitting Ireland, for one thing; has come over to 'his Father-in-law Mr. Huish's in Devonshire':—and, to all appearance, is not building established-churches there! 'Captain Unton Crook,' of whom we shall hear afterwards, is an active man, son of a learned Lawyer;[4] very zealous for the Protector's interest;—

[1] Ludlow, i. 189: 'Edward Sexby,' 'William Allen'; but in the name of the third Trooper, which is not 'Philips' but *Sheppard*, he is mistaken (*Common Journals*, 30th April 1647); and as to 'Adjutant-General Allen' and the impossibility of his identity with this William Allen, see vol. i. pp. 261, 314.

[2] Vol. i. p. 314.

[3] Two intercepted Letters of Allen's (Thurloe, ii. 214-5), 'Dublin, 6th Ap 1654.'

[4] Made Sergeant Crook in 1655 (Heath, p. 693).

zealous for his own and his Father's promotion, growls Ludlow. Desborow, who fitted-out the late mysterious Sea-Armament on the Southern Coast (not too judiciously, I doubt), is Commander-in-chief in those parts.

"FOR CAPTAIN UNTON CROOK, AT EXETER: THESE"

Whitehall, 20th January 1654.

Sir,—Being informed by a Letter of yours and General Desborow, also by a Letter from the High Sheriff of Devon, that Adjutant-General Allen doth very ill offices by multiplying dissatisfaction in the minds of men to the present Government, I desire you and the High Sheriff to make diligent inquiry after him, and try to make-out what can be made in this kind, and to give me speedy notice thereof. Not doubting of your care herein, I rest your loving friend,

OLIVER P.

*If he be gone out of the Country, learn whither he is gone, and send me word by next post.**

Allen was not gone out of the Country; he was seized by Crook 'in his Father-in-law Mr. Huish's house,' on the 31st of January 1654-5; his papers searched, and himself ordered to be and continue prisoner, at a place agreed upon,—Sand in Somersetshire,—'under his note of hand.' So much we learn from the imbroglios of *Thurloe*;[1] where also are authentic Depositions concerning Allen, 'by Captains John Copleston and the said Unton Crook'; and two Letters of Allen's own, —one to the Protector; and one to 'Colonel Daniel Axtel' (the Regicide Axtel), 'Dr. Philip Carteret, or either of them,' enclosing that other Letter, and leaving it to them to present it or not, he himself thinking earnestly that they should. Both of these Letters, as well as Unton Crook's to the

* Lansdowne MSS. 1236, fol. 102. Superscription torn off;—only the Signature is in Oliver's hand: Address supplied here by inference.

[1] iii. 143; see pp. 140-1.

Protector, and the authentic Deposition of Copleston and Crook against Allen, are dated February 7th, 1654-5.

The witnesses depose,[1] That he has bragged to one 'Sir John Davis Baronet,' of an interview he had with the Protector not long since, — wherein he, Allen, told the Protector a bit of his mind; and left him in a kind of huff, and even at a nonplus; and so came off to the West Country in a triumphant manner. Farther he talks questionable things of Ireland, of discontents there, and in laud of Lieutenant-General Ludlow; says, There is plenty of discontent in Ireland; he himself means to be there in February, but will first go to London again. The Country rings with rumour of his questionable speeches. He goes to 'meetings' about Bristol, whither many persons convene,—for Anabaptist or other purposes. Such meetings are often on week-days. Questionabler still, he rides thither 'with a vizard or mask over his face'; 'with glasses over his eyes,'—barnacles, so to speak! Nay, questionablest of all, riding, 'on Friday the 5th of last month,' month of January 1654-5, to a meeting at Luppit near Honiton, Devon,' there rode also (but not I think to the same place!) a Mr. Hugh Courtenay, once a flaming Royalist Officer in Ireland, and still a flaming zealot to the lost Cause; who spake nothing all that afternoon but mere treason, of Anabaptists that would rise in London, of etc. etc. Allen, as we say, on the last morning of January was awoke from sleep in his Father-in-law Mr. Huish's, by the entrance of two armed troopers; who informed him that Captain Crook and the High Sheriff were below, and that he would have to put-on his clothes, and come down.

Allen's Letter to the Lord Protector, from Sand in Somersetshire, we rather reluctantly withhold, for want of room. A stubborn, sad, stingily respectful piece of writing: Wife and baby terribly ill off at Sand; desires to be resigned to the Lord, 'before whom both of us shall ere long nakedly appear'; —petitions that at least he might be allowed 'to attend

[1] Thurloe, iii. 140.

ordinances'; which surely would be reasonable! Are there not good horses that require to be ridden with a dexterous bridle-hand,—delicate, and yet hard and strong? Clearly a strenuous Anabaptist, this Allen; a rugged, true-hearted, not easily governable man; given to Fifth-Monarchy and other notions, though with a strong head to control them. Fancy him duly cashiered from the Army, duly admonished and dismissed into private life. Then add the Colonel Overtons and Colonel Alureds, and General Ludlows and Major-General Harrisons, and also the Charles Stuarts and Christian Kings; —and reflect once more what kind of task this of my Lord Protector's is, and whether he needs refractory Pedant Parliament to worsen it for him!

SPEECH IV

FINDING this Parliament was equal to nothing in the Spiritual way but tormenting of poor Heretics, receiving Petitions for a small advance towards coal and candle; and nothing in the Temporal but constitutional air-fabrics and vigilant checkings and balancings,—under which operations such precious fruits at home and abroad were ripening,—Oliver's esteem for this Parliament gradually sank to a marked degree. Check, check,—like maladroit ship-carpenters hammering, adzing, sawing at the Ship of the State, instead of diligently caulking and paying it; idly gauging and computing, nay recklessly tearing-up and remodelling;—when the poor Ship could hardly keep the water as yet, and the Pirates and Sea-Krakens were gathering round! All which most dangerous, not to say half-frantic operations, the Lord Protector discerning well, and swallowing in silence as his hest was,—had for a good while kept his eye upon the Almanac, with more and more impatience for the arrival of the Third of February. That will be the first deliverance of the poor labouring Commonwealth, when at the end of Five Months

we send these Parliament philosophers home to their Countries again. Five Months by the Instrument they have to sit;—O fly, lazy Time; it is yet but Four Months and— —Somebody suggested, Is not the Soldier-month counted by Four Weeks? Eight-and-twenty days are a soldier's Month: they have, in a sense, already sat five months, these vigilant Honourable Gentlemen!

Oliver Protector, on Monday morning, 22d of January 1654-5, surprises the Constitutioning Parliament with a message to attend him in the Painted Chamber, and leave 'Settling of the Government' for a while. They have yet voted no Supplies; nor meant to vote any. They thought themselves very safe till February 3d, at soonest. But my Lord Protector, from his high place, speaks, and dissolves.

Speech Fourth, 'printed by Henry Hills, Printer to his Highness the Lord Protector, 'is the only one of these Speeches concerning the reporting, printing or publishing of which there is any visible charge or notice taken by the Government of the time. It is ordered in this instance, by the Council of State, That nobody except Henry Hills or those appointed by him shall presume to print or reprint the present Speech, or any part of it. Perhaps an official precaution considered needful; perhaps also only a matter of copyright; for the Order is so worded as not to indicate which. At all events, there is no trace of the Report having been anywhere interfered with; which seems altogether a spontaneous one; probably the product of Rushworth or some such artist.[1]

The Speech, if read with due intensity, can be understood; and what is equally important, be believed; nay, be found to contain in it a manful, great and valiant meaning,—in tone and manner very resolute, yet very conciliatory; intrinsically not ignoble but noble. For the rest, it is, as usual, sufficiently incondite in phrase and conception; the hasty outpouring of a mind which is *full* of such meanings. Somewhat difficult to read. Practical Heroes, unfortunately, as we once said, do not

[1] See *Burton's Diary*.

speak in blank-verse; their trade does not altogether admit of that! Useless to look here for a Greek Temple with its porticoes and entablatures, and *styles*. But the Alp Mountain, with its chasms and cataracts and shaggy pine-forests, and huge granite masses rooted in the Heart of the World: this too is worth looking at, to some. I can give the reader little help; but will advise him to try.

'GENTLEMEN,—I perceive you are here as the House of 'Parliament, by your Speaker whom I see here, and by your 'faces which are in a great measure known to me. [*Doubtless we are here, your Highness!*]

'When I first met you in this room, it was to my appre- 'hension the hopefulest day that ever mine eyes saw, as to 'the considerations of this world. For I did look at, as 'wrapt-up in you together with myself, the hopes and the 'happiness of,—though not of the greatest,—yet a very great '"People"; and the best People in the world. And truly 'and unfeignedly I thought "it" so: as a People that have 'the highest and clearest profession amongst them of the 'greatest glory, namely Religion: as a People that have been, 'like other Nations, sometimes up and sometimes down in 'our honour in the world, but yet never so low but we might 'measure with other Nations:—and a People that have had 'a stamp upon them from God [*Hah!*]; God having, as it 'were, summed-up all our former honour and glory in the 'things that *are* of Glory to Nations, in an Epitome, within 'these Ten or Twelve years last past! So that we knew 'one another at home, and are well known abroad.

'And if I be not very much mistaken, we were arrived, '—as I, and truly I believe as many others, did think,—at 'a very safe port; where we might sit down and contemplate 'the Dispensations of God and our Mercies; and might 'know our Mercies not to have been like to those of the 'Ancients,—who did make-out their peace and prosperity, as 'they thought, by their own endeavours; who could not say,

'as we, That all ours were let-down to us from God Him-
'self! Whose appearances and providences amongst us are
'not to be outmatched by any Story. [*Deep silence; from the*
'*old Parliament, and from us.*] Truly this was our condition.
'And I know nothing else we had to do, save as Israel was
'commanded in that most excellent Psalm of David: 'The
'things which we have heard and known, and our fathers
'have told us, we will not hide them from our children;
'showing to the generation to come the praises of the
'Lord, and His strength, and His wonderful works that
'He hath done. For He established a Testimony in Jacob,
'and appointed a Law in Israel; which He commanded
'our fathers that they should make known to their children;
'that the generation to come might know them, even the
'children which should be born, who should arise and declare
'them to *their* children: that they might set their hope in
'God, and not forget the works of God, but keep His
'commandments.'[1]

'This I thought had been a song and a work worthy of
'England, whereunto you might happily have invited them,
'—had you had hearts unto it. [*Alas!*] You had this oppor-
'tunity fairly delivered unto you. And if a history shall be
'written of these Times and Transactions, it will be said, it
'will not be denied, that these things that I have spoken are
'true! [*No response from the Moderns: mere silence, stupor,*
'*not without sadness.*] This talent was put into your hands.
'And I shall recur to that which I said at the First: I came
'with very great joy and contentment and comfort, the first
'time I met you in this place. But we and these Nations
'are, for the present, under some disappointment!—If I had
'proposed to have played the Orator,—which I never did
'affect, nor do, nor I hope shall [*Hear!*],—I doubt not but
'upon easy suppositions, which I am persuaded every one
'among you will grant, we did meet upon such hopes as
'these.

[1] Psalm lxxviii. 3-7.

'I met you a second time here: and I confess, at that 'meeting I had much abatement of my hopes; though not 'a total frustration. I confess, that that which damped my 'hopes so soon was somewhat that did look like a parricide. 'It is obvious enough unto you that the "then" management 'of affairs did savour of a Not owning,—too-too much savour, 'I say, of a Not owning of the Authority that called you 'hither. But God left us not without an expedient that gave 'a second possibility—Shall I say possibility? It seemed to 'me a probability,—of recovering out of that dissatisfied 'condition we were all then in, towards some mutuality of 'satisfaction. And therefore by that Recognition [*The Parch-'ment we had to sign: Hum-m!*], suiting with the Indenture 'that returned you hither; to which afterwards was also 'added your own Declaration,[1] conformable to, and in accept-'ance of, that expedient:—thereby, "I say," you had, though 'with a little check, another opportunity renewed unto you 'to have made this Nation as happy as it could have been if 'everything had smoothly run on from that first hour of your 'meeting. And indeed,—you will give me liberty of my 'thoughts and hopes,—I did think, as I have formerly found 'in that way that I have been engaged in as a soldier, That 'some affronts put upon us, some disasters at the first, have 'made way for very great and happy successes;[2] and I did 'not at all despond but the stop put upon you, in like 'manner, would have made way for a blessing from God. 'That Interruption being, as I thought, necessary to divert 'you from violent and destructive proceedings; to give time 'for better deliberations;—whereby leaving the Government 'as you found it, you might have proceeded to have made 'those good and wholesome Laws which the People expected from you, and might have answered the Grievances, and 'settled those other things proper to you as a Parliament: 'for which you would have had thanks from all that

[1] *Commons Journals*, (vii. 368), 14th Sept. 1654.

[2] Characteristic sentence, and sentiment;—not to be meddled with.

'intrusted you. [*Doubtful 'Hum-m-m!' from the old Parliament.*]

'What hath happened since that time I have not taken 'public notice of; as declining to intrench on Parliament 'privileges. For sure I am you will all bear me witness, 'That from your entering into the House upon the Recogni- 'tion, to this very day, you have had no manner of interrup- 'tion or hindrance of mine in proceeding to what blessed issue 'the heart of a good man could propose to himself,—to this 'very day "none." You see you have me very much locked 'up, as to what you have transacted among yourselves, from 'that time to this. ['*None dare report us, or whisper what 'we do.*'] But some things I shall take liberty to speak of 'to you.

'As I may not take notice what you have been doing; so 'I think I have a very great liberty to tell you That I do 'not know what you have been doing! [*With a certain tone; 'as one may hear!*] I do not know whether you have been 'alive or dead. I have not once heard from you all this 'time; I have not: and that you all know. If that be a 'fault that I have not, surely it hath not been mine!—If 'I have had any melancholy thoughts, and have sat down by 'them,—why might it not have been very lawful for me to 'think that I was a Person judged unconcerned in all these 'businesses? I can assure you I have not so reckoned myself! 'Nor did I reckon myself unconcerned in you. And so long 'as any just patience could support my expectation, I would 'have waited to the uttermost to have received from you the 'issue of your consultations and resolutions.—I have been 'careful of your safety, and the safety of those that you 'represented, to whom I reckon myself a servant.—

'But what messages have I disturbed you withal? What 'injury or indignity hath been done, or offered, either to your 'persons or to any privileges of Parliament, since you sat? 'I looked at myself as strictly obliged by my Oath, since your 'recognising the Government in the authority of which you

'were called hither and sat, To give you all possible security, 'and to keep you from any unparliamentary interruption. 'Think you I could not say more upon this subject, if I listed 'to expatiate thereupon? But because my actions plead for 'me, I shall say no more of this. [*Old Parliament dubiously 'rolls its eyes.*]—I say, I have been caring for *you*, for your 'quiet sitting; caring for your privileges, as I said before, 'that they might not be interrupted; have been seeking of 'God, from the great God a blessing upon you, and a bless-'ing upon these Nations. I have been consulting if possibly 'I might, in anything, promote, in my place, the real good 'of this Parliament, of the hopefulness of which I have said 'so much unto you. And I did think it to be my business 'rather to see the utmost issue, and what God would produce 'by you, than unseasonably to intermeddle with you.

'But, as I said before, I have been caring for you, and for 'the peace and quiet of these Nations: indeed I have; and 'that I shall a little presently manifest unto you. And it 'leadeth me to let you know somewhat,—which, I fear, I fear, 'will be, through some interpretation, a little too justly put 'upon *you*; whilst you have been employed as you have been, 'and,—in all that time expressed in the Government, in that 'Government, I say in that Government,—have brought forth 'nothing that you yourselves say *can* be taken notice of with-'out infringement of your privileges![1] I will tell you some-'what, which, if it be not news to you, I wish you had taken 'very serious consideration of. If it be news, I wish I had 'acquainted you with it sooner. And yet if any man will ask 'me why I did it not, the reason is given already: Because 'I did make it my business to give you no interruption.

[1] An embarrassed sentence; characteristic of his Highness, 'You have done nothing noticeable upon this, "Somewhat" that I am about to speak of,—nor, indeed, it seems upon *any* Somewhat,—and *this* was one you may, without much "interpretation," be blamed for doing nothing upon.' 'Government' means *Instrument of Government*: 'the time expressed' therein is *Five Months*,—now, by my way of calculating it, expired! Which may account for the embarrassed iteration of the phrase, on his Highness's part.

'There be some trees that will not grow under the shadow 'of other trees: There be some that choose,—a man may 'say so by way of allusion,—to thrive under the shadow of 'other trees. I will tell you what hath thriven,—I will not 'say what you have *cherished*, under your shadow; that were 'too hard. Instead of Peace and Settlement,—instead of 'mercy and truth being brought together, and righteousness 'and peace kissing each other, by "your" reconciling the 'Honest People of these Nations, and settling the woful 'distempers that are amongst us; which had been glorious 'things and worthy of Christians to have proposed,—weeds 'and nettles, briers and thorns have thriven under your 'shadow! Dissettlement and division, discontent and dis-'satisfaction; together with real dangers to the whole,— 'have been more multiplied within these five months of your 'sitting, than in some years before! Foundations have also 'been laid for the future renewing of the Troubles of these 'Nations by all the enemies of them abroad and at home. 'Let not these words seem too sharp: for they are true as 'any mathematical demonstrations are or can be. I say, the 'enemies of the peace of these Nations abroad and at home, 'the discontented humours throughout these Nations,—which '"products" I think no man will grudge to call by that 'name, of briers and thorns,—*they* have nourished themselves 'under your shadow! [*Old Parliament looks still more uneasy.*]

'And that I may clearly be understood: They have taken 'their opportunities from your sitting, and from the hopes 'they had, which with easy conjecture they might take up and 'conclude that there would be no Settlement; and they have 'framed their designs, preparing for the execution of them 'accordingly. Now whether,—which appertains not to me to 'judge of, on their behalf,—they had any occasion ministered 'for this, and from whence they had it, I list not to make 'any scrutiny or search. But I will say this: I think they had 'it not from me. I am sure they had not "from me." From

'whence they had, is not my business now to discourse: but 'that they had, is obvious to every man's sense. What pre- 'parations they have made, to be executed in such a season as 'they thought fit to take their opportunity from: that I 'know, not as men know things by conjecture, but by certain 'demonstrable knowledge. That they have been for some 'time past furnishing themselves with arms; nothing doubting 'but they should have a day for it; and verily believing that 'whatsoever their former disappointments were, they should 'have more done for them by and from our own divisions, 'than they were able to do for themselves. I desire to be 'understood That, in all I have to say of this subject, you 'will take it that I have no reservation in my mind,—as I 'have not,—to mingle things of guess and suspicion with 'things of fact: but "that" the things I am telling of are 'fact; things of evident demonstration.

'These weeds, briers and thorns,—they have been preparing, 'and have brought their designs to some maturity, by the 'advantages given to them, as aforesaid, from your sittings 'and proceedings. ['*Hum-m-m!*'] But by the Waking Eye 'that watched over that Cause that God will bless, they have 'been, and yet are, disappointed. [*Yea!*] And having 'mentioned that Cause, I say, that slighted Cause,—let me 'speak a few words on behalf thereof; though it may seem 'too long a digression. Whosoever despiseth it, and will say, 'It is *non Causa pro Causâ*, "a Cause without Cause,"—the 'All-searching Eye before mentioned will find out that man; 'and will judge him, as one that regardeth not the works of 'God nor the operations of His hands! [*Moderns look 'astonished.*] For which God hath threatened that He will 'cast men down and not build them up. That "man who," 'because he can dispute, will tell us he knew not when the 'Cause began, nor where it is; but modelleth it according to 'his own intellect; and submits not to the Appearances of 'God in the world; and therefore lifts up his heel against 'God, and mocketh at all His providences; laughing at the

'observations, made up not without reason and the Scriptures, 'and by the quickening and teaching Spirit which gives life to 'these other;—calling such observations 'enthusiasms': such 'men, I say, no wonder if they 'stumble and fall backwards, 'and be broken and snared and taken,'[1] by the things of 'which they are so wilfully and maliciously ignorant! The 'Scriptures say, 'The Rod has a voice, and He will make 'Himself known by the judgments which He executeth.' And 'do we not think He will, and does, by the providences of 'mercy and kindness, which He hath for His People and their 'just liberties; 'whom He loves as the apple of His eye'? 'Doth He not by them manifest Himself? And is He not 'thereby also seen giving kingdoms for them, 'giving men for 'them, and people for their lives,'—as it is in Isaiah Forty-'third?[2] Is not this as fair a lecture and as clear speaking, as 'anything our dark reason left to the letter of the Scriptures, 'can collect from them? By this voice has God spoken very 'loud on behalf of His People, by judging their enemies in 'the late War, and restoring them a liberty to worship, with 'the freedom of their consciences, and freedom in estates and 'persons when they do so. And thus we have found the 'Cause of God by the works of God; which are the testimony 'of God. Upon which rock whosoever splits shall suffer ship-'wreck. But it is your glory,—and it is mine, if I have any 'in the world concerning the Interest of those that have an 'interest in a better world,—it is my glory that I know a 'Cause which yet we have *not* lost; but do hope we shall take 'a little pleasure rather to lose our lives than lose! [*Hah!*] '—But you will excuse this long digression.——

'I say unto you, Whilst you have been in the midst of 'these Transactions, that Party, that Cavalier Party,—I could 'wish some of them had thrust-in here, to have heard what

[1] Isaiah xxviii. 13. A text that had made a great impression upon Oliver: see Letter to the General Assembly, vol. ii. p. 187.

[2] Isaiah xliii. 3, 4: Another prophecy of awful moment to his Highness: see Speech I. antea, p. 63.

'I say,—have been designing and preparing to put this 'Nation in blood again, with a witness. But because I am 'confident there are none of that sort here, therefore I shall 'say the less to that. Only this I must tell you: They have 'been making great preparations of arms; and I do believe it 'will be made evident to you that they have raked-out many 'thousands of arms, even all that this City could afford, for 'divers months last past. But it will be said, 'May we not 'arm ourselves for the defence of our houses? Will anybody 'find fault for that?' Not for that. But the reason for '*their* doing so hath been as explicit, and under as clear proof, 'as the fact of doing so. For which I hope, by the justice of 'the land, some will, in the face of the Nation, answer it with 'their lives: and then the business will be pretty well out of 'doubt.—Banks of money have been framing, for these and 'other suchlike uses. Letters have been issued with Privy-'seals, to as great Persons as most are in the Nation, for the 'advance of money,—which "Letters" have been discovered 'to us by the Persons themselves. Commissions for Regiments 'of horse and foot, and command of Castles, have been like-'wise given from Charles Stuart, since your sitting. And 'what the general insolences of that Party have been, the 'Honest People have been sensible of, and can very well 'testify.

'It hath not only been thus. But as in a quinsy or 'pleurisy, where the humour fixeth in one part, give it scope, 'all "disease" will gather to that place, to the hazarding of 'the whole: and it is natural to do so till it destroy life in 'that person on whomsoever this befalls. So likewise will '*these* diseases take accidental causes of aggravation of their 'distemper. And this was that which I did assert, That 'they have taken accidental causes for the growing and 'increasing of those distempers,—as much as would have 'been in the natural body if timely remedy were not applied. 'And indeed things were come to that pass,—in respect of 'which I shall give you a particular account,—that no mortal

'physician, if the Great Physician had not stepped in, could 'have cured the distemper. Shall I lay this upon your 'account, or my own? I am sure I can lay it upon God's 'account: That if He had not stepped in, the disease had 'been mortal and destructive!

'And what is all this? "What are these new diseases that 'have gathered to this point?" Truly I must needs still say: ''A company of men like briers and thorns'; and worse, if 'worse can be. Of another sort than those before mentioned 'to you. These also have been and yet are endeavouring to 'put us into blood and into confusion; more desperate and 'dangerous confusion than England ever yet saw. [*Anabaptist 'Levellers.*] And I must say, as when Gideon commanded 'his son to fall upon Zeba and Zalmunna, and slay them, 'they thought it more noble to die by the hand of a man 'than of a stripling,—which shows there is some contentment 'in the hand by which a man falls: so it is some satisfaction 'if a Commonwealth must perish, that it perish by men, and 'not by the hands of persons differing little from beasts! 'That if it must needs suffer, it should rather suffer from rich 'men than from poor men, who, as Solomon says, 'when they 'oppress, leave nothing behind them, but are as a sweeping 'rain.' Now such as these also are grown up under your 'shadow. But it will be asked, What have they done? I 'hope, though they pretend 'Commonwealth's Interest,' they 'have had no encouragement from you; but have, as in the 'former case, rather taken it than that you have administered 'any cause unto them for so doing. "Any cause" from 'delays, from hopes that this Parliament would not settle, 'from Pamphlets mentioning strange Votes and Resolves of 'yours; which I hope did abuse you! But thus you see that, 'whatever the grounds were, these have been the effects. And 'thus I have laid these things before you; and you and others 'will be easily able to judge how far you are concerned.

''What these men have done?' They also have laboured 'to pervert, where they could, and as they could, the Honest-

'meaning People of the Nation. They have laboured to 'engage some in the Army:—and I doubt that not only 'they, but some others also, very well known to you, have 'helped to this work of debauching and dividing the Army. 'They have, they have! [*Overton, Allen and Company, your 'Highness?*] I would be loath to say Who, Where, and How? 'much more loath to say they were any of your own number. 'But I can say: Endeavours have been "made" to put the 'Army into a distemper, and to feed that which is the worst 'humour in the Army. Which though it was not a mastering 'humour, yet these took advantage from delay of the Settle-'ment, and the practices before mentioned, and the stopping 'of the pay of the Army, to run us into Free-quarter, and to 'bring us into the inconveniences most to be feared and 'avoided.—What if I am able to make it appear in fact, 'That some amongst you have run into the City of London, 'to persuade to Petitions and Addresses to you for reversing 'your own Votes that you have passed? Whether these 'practices were in favour of your Liberties, or tended to 'beget hopes of Peace and Settlement from you; and whether 'debauching the Army in England, as is before expressed, and 'starving it, and putting it upon Free-quarter, and occasioning 'and necessitating the greatest part thereof in Scotland to 'march into England, leaving the remainder thereof to have 'their throats cut there; and kindling by the rest a fire in 'our own bosoms, were for the advantage of affairs here, let 'the world judge!

'This I tell you also: That the correspondence held with 'the Interest of the Cavaliers, by that Party of men called 'Levellers, who call themselves Commonwealth's-men, "is in 'our hands." Whose Declarations were framed to that 'purpose, and ready to be published at the time of their '"projected" common Rising; whereof, "I say," we are 'possessed; and for which we have the confession of themselves 'now in custody; who confess also they built their hopes upon 'the assurance they had of the Parliament's not agreeing to

'a Settlement:—whether these humours have not nourished 'themselves under your boughs, is the subject of my present 'discourse; and I think I shall say not amiss, if I affirm it to 'be so. [*His Highness looks animated!*] And I must say it 'again, That that which hath been their advantage, thus to 'raise disturbance, hath been by the loss of those golden 'opportunities which God had put into your hands for 'Settlement. Judge you whether these things were thus, or 'not, when you first sat down. I am sure things were not 'thus! There was a very great peace and sedateness through-'out these Nations; and great expectations of a happy 'Settlement. Which I remembered to you at the beginning 'in my Speech; and hoped that you would have entered on 'your business as you found it. ['*Hum-m-m! We had a Constitution to make!*']

'There was a Government "already" in the possession of 'the People,—I say a Government in the possession of the 'People, for many months. It hath now been exercised near 'Fifteen Months: and if it were needful that I should tell 'you *how* it came into their possession, and how willingly 'they received it; how all Law and Justice were distributed 'from it, in every respect, as to life, liberty and estate; how 'it was owned by God, as being the dispensation of His 'providence after Twelve Years War; and sealed and 'witnessed unto by the People,—I should but repeat what I 'said in my last Speech unto you in this place: and therefore 'I forbear. When you were entered upon this Govern-'ment; ravelling into it—You know I took no notice what 'you were doing—[*Nor will now, your Highness; let the 'Sentence drop!*]—If you had gone upon that foot of account, 'To have made such good and wholesome provisions for the 'Good of the People of these Nations "as were wanted"; for 'the settling of such matters in things of Religion as would 'have upheld and given countenance to a Godly Ministry, 'and yet "as" would have given a just liberty to godly men 'of different judgments,—"to" men of the same faith with

'them that you call the Orthodox Ministry in England, as it 'is well known the Independents are, and many under the 'form of Baptism, who are sound in the faith, and though 'they may perhaps be different in judgment in some lesser 'matters, yet as true Christians both looking for salvation 'only by faith in the blood of Christ, men professing the fear 'of God, and having recourse to the name of God as to a 'strong tower,—I say you might have had opportunity to 'have settled peace and quietness amongst all professing 'Godliness; and might have been instrumental, if not to 'have healed the breaches, yet to have kept the Godly of all 'judgments from running one upon another; and by keeping 'them from being overrun by a Common Enemy, "have" 'rendered them and these Nations both secure, happy and 'well satisfied. [*And the Constitution? Hum-m-m!*]

'Are these things done; or any things towards them? Is 'there not yet upon the spirits of men a strange itch? 'Nothing will satisfy them unless they can press their finger 'upon their brethren's consciences, to pinch them there. To 'do this was no part of the Contest we had with the Common 'Adversary. For "indeed" Religion was not the thing at 'first contested for "at all":[1] but God brought it to that 'issue at last; and gave it unto us by way of redundancy; and 'at last it proved to be that which was most dear to us. And 'wherein consisted this more than In obtaining that liberty 'from the tyranny of the Bishops to all species of Protestants 'to worship God according to their own light and consciences? 'For want of which many of our brethren forsook their native 'countries to seek their bread from strangers, and to live in 'howling wildernesses [*Our poor brethren of New England!*]; 'and for which also many that remained here were imprisoned, 'and otherwise abused and made the scorn of the Nation. 'Those that were sound in the faith, how proper was it for 'them to labour for liberty, for a just liberty, that men might

[1] Power of the Militia was the point upon which the actual War began. A statement not false; yet truer in form than it is in essence.

'not be trampled upon for their consciences! Had not they '"themselves" laboured, but lately, under the weight of 'persecution? And was it fit for them to sit heavy upon 'others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? 'What greater hypocrisy than for those who were oppressed 'by the Bishops to become the greatest oppressors themselves, 'so soon as their yoke was removed? I could wish that they 'who call for liberty now also had not too much of that spirit, 'if the power were in their hands!—As for profane persons, 'blasphemers, such as preach sedition; the contentious railers, 'evil-speakers, who seek by evil words to corrupt good 'manners; persons of loose conversation,—punishment from 'the Civil Magistrate ought to meet with these. Because, if 'they pretend conscience; yet walking disorderly and not 'according but contrary to the Gospel, and even to natural 'lights,—they are judged of all. And their sins being open, 'make them subjects of the Magistrate's sword, who ought 'not to bear it in vain.—The discipline of the Army *was* 'such, that a man would not be suffered to remain there, of 'whom we could take notice he was guilty of such practices 'as these.—

'And therefore how happy would England have been, 'and you and I, if the Lord had led you on to have settled 'upon such good accounts as these are, and to have dis-'countenanced such practices as the other, and left men in 'disputable things free to their own consciences! Which was 'well provided for by the "Instrument of" Government; and 'liberty left to provide against what was apparently evil. 'Judge you, Whether the contesting for things that were pro-'vided for by this Government hath been profitable expense 'of time, for the good of these Nations! By means whereof 'you may see you have wholly elapsed your time, and done 'just nothing!—I will say this to you, in behalf of the Long 'Parliament: That, had such an expedient as this Govern-'ment been proposed to them; and could they have seen 'the Cause of God thus provided for; and been, by debates,

'enlightened in the grounds "of it," whereby the difficulties 'might have been cleared "to them," and the reason of the 'whole enforced, and the circumstances of time and persons, 'with the temper and disposition of the People, and affairs 'both abroad and at home when it was undertaken might 'have been well weighed "by them": I think in my conscience, '—well as they were thought to love their seats,—they would 'have proceeded in another manner than you have done! 'And *not* have exposed things to these difficulties and hazards 'they now are at; nor given occasion to leave the People so 'dissettled as they now are. Who, I dare say, in the soberest 'and most judicious part of them, did expect, not a question-'ing, but a doing of things in pursuance of the "Instrument 'of" Government. And if I be not misinformed, very many 'of you came up with this satisfaction; having had time 'enough to weigh and consider the same.

'And when I say 'such an expedient as this Govern-'ment,'—wherein I dare assert there is a just Liberty to the 'People of God, and the just Rights of the People in these 'Nations provided for,—I can put the issue thereof upon the 'clearest reason; whatsoever any go about to suggest to the 'contrary. But this not being the time and place of such an 'averment, "I forbear at present." For satisfaction's sake 'herein, enough is said in a Book entituled '*A State of the* '*Case of the Commonwealth*,' published in January 1653.[1] 'And for myself, I desire not to keep my place in this Govern-'ment an hour longer than I may preserve England in its 'just rights, and may protect the People of God in such a 'just Liberty of their Consciences as I have already mentioned. 'And therefore if this Parliament have judged things to be 'otherwise than as I have stated them,—it had been huge 'friendliness between persons who had such a reciprocation in 'so great concernments to the public, for *them* to have con-

[1] Read it he who wants satisfaction: 'Printed by Thomas Newcomb, London, 1653-4';—'wrote with great spirit of language and subtilty of argument,' says the *Parliamentary History* (xx. 419).

'vinced me in what particulars therein my error lay! Of 'which I never yet had a word from you! But if, instead 'thereof, your time has been spent in setting-up somewhat else, 'upon another bottom than this stands "upon,"—it looks as 'if the laying grounds for a *quarrel* had rather been designed 'than to give the People *settlement*. If it be thus, it 's *well* 'your labours have not arrived to any maturity at all! [*Old Parliament looks agitated;—agitated, yet constant!*]

'This Government called you hither; the constitution 'thereof being limited so,—a Single Person and a Parlia-'ment. And this was thought most agreeable to the general 'sense of the Nation;—having had experience enough, by 'trial, of other conclusions; judging this most likely to avoid 'the extremes of Monarchy on the one hand, and of 'Democracy on the other;—and yet not to found *Dominium 'in Gratiâ "either."* [*Your Highness does not claim to be here 'as Kings do, By Grace, then? No!*] And if so, then certainly 'to make the Authority more than a mere notion, it was 'requisite that it should be as it is in this "Frame of" 'Government; which puts it upon a true and equal balance. 'It has been already submitted to the judicious, true and 'honest People of this Nation, Whether the balance be not 'equal? And what their judgment is, is visible,—by submis-'sion to it; by acting upon it; by restraining their Trustees 'from meddling with it. And it neither asks nor needs any 'better ratification! [*Hear!*] But when Trustees in Parlia-'ment shall, by experience, find any evil in any parts of this '"Frame of" Government, "a question" referred by the 'Government itself to the consideration of the Protector and 'Parliament,—of which evil or evils Time itself will be the 'best discoverer:—how can it be reasonably imagined that a 'Person or Persons, coming in by election, and standing under 'such obligations, and so limited, and so necessitated by oath 'to govern for the People's good, and to make *their* love, 'under God, the best underpropping and only safe footing:—'how can it, I say, be imagined that the present or succeeding

'Protectors will refuse to agree to alter any such thing in the 'Government as may be found to be for the good of the 'People? Or to recede from anything which he might be con- 'vinced casts the balance too much to the Single Person? And 'although, for the present, the keeping-up and having in his 'power the Militia seems the hardest "condition," yet if the 'power of the Militia should be yielded up at such a time as 'this, when there is as much need of it to keep this Cause '(now most evidently impugned by all Enemies), as there was 'to *get* it "for the sake of this Cause":—what would become 'of us all! Or if it should not be equally placed in him and 'the Parliament, but yielded up *at any time*,—it determines 'his power either for doing the good he ought, or hindering 'Parliaments from perpetuating themselves; from imposing 'what Religion they please on the consciences of men, or 'what Government they please upon the Nation. Thereby 'subjecting us to dissettlement in every Parliament, and 'to the desperate consequences thereof. And if the Nation '*shall* happen to fall into a blessed Peace, how easily and 'certainly will their charge be taken off, and their forces be 'disbanded! And then where will the danger be to have the 'Militia thus stated?—What if I should say: If there *be* a 'disproportion, or disequality as to the power, it is on the 'other hand!—

'And if this be so, Wherein have you had cause to quarrel? 'What demonstrations have you held forth to settle me to 'your opinion? I would you had made me so happy as to 'have let me known your grounds! I have made a free and 'ingenuous confession of my faith to *you*. And I could have 'wished it had been in your hearts to have agreed that some 'friendly and cordial debates might have been toward mutual 'conviction. Was there none amongst you to move such a 'thing? No fitness to listen to it? No desire of a right 'understanding? If it be not folly in me to listen to 'Town-talk, such things *have* been proposed; and rejected, 'with stiffness and severity, once and again. Was it not

'likely to have been more advantageous to the good of this 'Nation? I will say this to you for myself; and to that 'I have my conscience as a thousand witnesses, and I have 'my comfort and contentment in it; and I have the witness '"too" of divers here, who I think truly "would" scorn 'to own me in a lie: That I would not have been averse 'to any alteration, of the good of which I might have 'been convinced. Although I could not have agreed to the 'taking it off the foundation on which it stands; namely, the 'acceptance and consent of the People. ['*Our sanction not needed, then!*']

'I will not presage what you have been about, or doing, 'in all this time. Nor do I love to make conjectures. But 'I must tell you this: That as I undertook this Government 'in the simplicity of my heart and as before God, and to do 'the part of an honest man, and to be true to the Interest, '—which in my conscience "I think" is dear to many of you; 'though it is not always understood what God in His wisdom 'may hide from us, as to Peace and Settlement:—so I 'can say that no particular interest, either of myself, estate, 'honour or family, are, or have been, prevalent with me to 'this undertaking. For if you had, upon the old Govern-'ment,[1] offered me this one, this one thing,—I speak as 'thus advised, and before God; as having been to this day 'of this opinion; and this hath been my constant judgment, 'well known to many who hear me speak:—if, "I say," this 'one thing had been inserted, this one thing, That the 'Government should have been placed in my Family heredi-'tarily I would have rejected it![2] And I could have done 'no other according to my present conscience and light. I

[1] Means 'the existing Instrument of Government' without modification of yours.

[2] The matter in debate, running very high at this juncture, in the Parliament, was with regard to the Single Person's being *hereditary*. Hence partly the Protector's emphasis here.

'will tell you my reason;—though I cannot tell what God '*will* do with me, nor with you, nor with the Nation, for 'throwing away precious opportunities committed to us.

'This hath been my principle; and I liked it, when this 'Government came first to be proposed to me, That it puts 'us off that hereditary way. Well looking that God hath 'declared what Government He delivered to the Jews; and '"that He" placed it upon such Persons as had been instru-'mental for the Conduct and Deliverance of His People. 'And considering that Promise in *Isaiah*, 'That God would 'give Rulers as at the first, and Judges as at the beginning,' 'I did not know but that God might "now" begin,—and 'though, at present, with a most unworthy person; yet, 'as to the future, it might be after this manner; and I 'thought this might usher it in! [*A noble thought, your 'Highness!*] I am speaking as to my judgment against 'making Government hereditary. To have men chosen, for 'their love to God, and to Truth and Justice; and not to 'have it hereditary. For as it is in the *Ecclesiastes*: 'Who 'knoweth whether he may beget a fool or a wise man?' 'Honest or not honest, whatever they be, they must come in, 'on that plan; because the Government is made a patrimony! '—And this I perhaps do declare with too much earnestness; 'as being my own concernment;—and know not what place 'it may have in your hearts, and in those of the Good People 'in the Nation. But however it be, I have comfort in this 'my truth and plainness.

'I have thus told you my thoughts; which truly I have 'declared to you in the fear of God, as knowing He will not 'be mocked; and in the strength of God, as knowing and 'rejoicing that I am supported in my speaking;—especially 'when I do not form or frame things without the compass of 'integrity and honesty; "so" that my own conscience gives 'me not the lie to what I say. And then in what I say, I 'can rejoice.

'Now to speak a word or two to you. Of that, I must

'profess in the name of the same Lord, and wish there had
'been no cause that I should have thus spoken to you! I
'told you that I came with joy the first time; with some
'regret the second; yet now I speak with most regret of
'all! I look upon you as having among you many persons
'that I could lay-down my life individually for. I could,
'through the grace of God, desire to lay-down my life for
'you. So far am I from having an unkind or unchristian
'heart towards you in your particular capacities! I have
'this indeed as a work most incumbent upon me; "this of
'speaking these things to you." I consulted what might be
'my duty in such a day as this; casting up all considerations.
'I must confess, as I told you, that I did think occasion-
'ally, This Nation had suffered extremely in the respects
'mentioned; as also in the disappointment of their expecta-
'tions of that justice which was due to them by your sitting
'thus long. "Sitting thus long"; and what have you brought
'forth? I did not nor cannot comprehend what it is. I
'would be loath to call it a Fate; that were too paganish
'a word. But there hath been Something in it that we had
'not in our expectations.

'I did think also, for myself, That I am like to meet
'with difficulties; and that this Nation will not, as it is fit
'it should not, be deluded with *pretexts* of Necessity in that
'great business of raising of Money. And were it not that
'I can make some dilemmas upon which to resolve some
'things of my conscience, judgment and actions, I should
'sink at the very prospect of my encounters. Some of them
'are general, some are more special. [*Hear the 'dilemmas.'*]
'Supposing this Cause or this Business must be carried on,
'it is either of God or of man. If it be of man, I would I
'had never touched it with a finger. [*Hear!*] If I had not
'had a hope fixed in me that this Cause and this Business
'was of God, I would many years ago have run from it. If
'it be of God, He will bear it up. [*Yea!*] If it be of man, it
'will tumble; as everything that hath been of man since the

'world began hath done. And what are all our Histories, 'and other Traditions of Actions in former times, but God 'manifesting Himself, that He hath shaken, and tumbled 'down and trampled upon, everything that He had not 'planted? [*Yes, your Highness; such is, was and forever will be, the History of Man, deeply as we poor Moderns have now forgotten it: and the Bible of every Nation is its Own 'History; if it have, or had, any real Bible!*] And as this 'is, so "let" the All-wise God deal with it. If this be of 'human structure and invention, and if it be an old Plotting 'and Contriving to bring things to this Issue, and that they 'are not the Births of Providence,—then they will tumble. 'But if the Lord take pleasure in England, and if He will do 'us good,—He is very able to bear us up! Let the difficulties 'be whatsoever they will, we shall in His strength be able to 'encounter with them. And I bless God I have been inured 'to difficulties; and I never found God failing when I 'trusted in Him. I can laugh and sing, in my heart, when 'I speak of these things to you or elsewhere. And though 'some may think it is an hard thing To raise Money without 'Parliamentary Authority upon this Nation; yet I have 'another argument to the good People of this Nation, if they 'would be safe, and yet have no better principle: Whether 'they prefer the having of their will though it be their 'destruction, rather than comply with things of Necessity? 'That will excuse me. But I should wrong my native 'country to suppose this.

'For I look at the People of these Nations as the blessing 'of the Lord: and they are a People blessed by God. They 'have been so; and they will be so, by reason of that 'immortal seed which hath been, and is, among them: those 'Regenerated Ones in the land, of several judgments; who 'are all the Flock of Christ, and lambs of Christ. "His," 'though perhaps under many unruly passions, and troubles 'of spirit; whereby they give disquiet to themselves and 'others: yet they are not so to God; since to us He is a

'God of other patience; and He will own the least of Truth 'in the hearts of His People. And the People being the 'blessing of God, they will not be so angry but they will 'prefer their safety to their passions, and their real security 'to forms, when Necessity calls for Supplies. Had they not 'well been acquainted with this principle, they had never seen 'this day of Gospel Liberty.

'But if any man shall object, 'It is an easy thing to talk 'of Necessities when men create Necessities: would not the 'Lord Protector make himself great and his family great? 'Doth not he make these Necessities? And then he will 'come upon the People with his argument of Necessity!'— 'This were something hard indeed. But I have *not* yet 'known what it is to 'make Necessities,' whatsoever the 'thoughts or judgments of men are. And I say this, not 'only to this Assembly, but to the world, That the man liveth 'not who can come to me and charge me with having, in 'these great Revolutions, 'made Necessities.' I challenge 'even all that fear God. And as God hath said, 'My glory 'I will not give unto another,' let men take heed and be twice 'advised how they call His Revolutions, the things of God, 'and His working of things from one period to another,— 'how, I say, they call them Necessities of men's creation! 'For by so doing, they do vilify and lessen the works of God, 'and rob Him of His glory; which He hath said He will not 'give unto another, nor suffer to be taken from Him! We 'know what God did to Herod, when he was applauded and 'did not acknowledge God. And God knoweth what He 'will do with men, when they call His Revolutions human 'designs, and so detract from His glory. These issues and 'events have not been forecast; but "were" sudden Provi- 'dences in things: whereby carnal and worldly men are 'enraged; and under and at which, many, and I fear some 'good men, have murmured and repined, because disappointed 'of their mistaken fancies. But still all these things have 'been the wise disposings of the Almighty; though instru-

'ments have had their passions and frailties. And I think it 'is an honour to God to acknowledge the Necessities to have 'been of God's imposing, when truly they have been so, as 'indeed they have. Let us take our sin in our actions to our-'selves; it's much more safe than to judge things so contingent, 'as if there were not a God that ruled the Earth!

'We know the Lord hath poured this Nation from vessel 'to vessel, till He poured it into your lap, when you came 'first together. I am confident that it came so into your 'hands; and was not judged by you to be from counterfeited 'or feigned Necessity, but by Divine Providence and Dispen-'sation. And this I speak with more earnestness, because I 'speak for God and not for men. I would have any man to 'come and tell of the Transactions that have been, and of 'those periods of time wherein God hath made these Revolu-'tions; and find where he can fix a feigned Necessity! I 'could recite particulars, if either my strength would serve 'me to speak, or yours to hear. If you would consider[1] the 'great Hand of God in His great Dispensations, you would 'find that there is scarce a man who fell off, at any period of 'time when God had any work to do, who can give God or 'His work at this day a good word.

''It was,' say some, 'the cunning of the Lord Protector,' '—I take it to myself,—'it was the craft of such a man, 'and his plot, that hath brought it about!' And, as they 'say in other countries, 'There are five or six cunning men 'in England that have skill; they do all these things.' Oh, 'what blasphemy is this! Because men that are without 'God in the world, and walk not with Him, know not what 'it is to pray or believe, and to receive returns from God, 'and to be spoken unto by the Spirit of God,—who speaks 'without a Written Word sometimes, yet according to it! 'God hath spoken heretofore in divers manners. Let Him 'speak as He pleaseth. Hath He not given us liberty, nay 'is it not our duty, To go to the Law and the Testimony?

[1] 'if that you would revolve' in orig.

'And there we shall find that there *have* been impressions, in 'extraordinary cases, as well without the Written Word as 'with it. And therefore there is no difference in the thing 'thus asserted from truths generally received,—except we 'will exclude the Spirit; without whose concurrence all other 'teachings are ineffectual. [*Yea, your Highness; the true God's-Voice, Voice of the Eternal, is in the heart of every Man;* '*—there, wherever else it be.*] He doth speak to the hearts 'and consciences of men; and leadeth them to His Law and 'Testimony, and there "also" He speaks to them: and so 'gives them double teachings. According to that of Job: ''God speaketh once, yea twice'; and to that of David: ''God hath spoken once, yea twice have I heard this.' These 'men that live upon their *mumpsimus and sumpsimus* [*Bul-'strode looks astonished*], their Masses and Service-books, 'their dead and carnal worship,—no marvel if they be 'strangers to God, and to the works of God, and to 'spiritual dispensations. And because *they* say and believe 'thus, must we do so too? We, in this land, have been 'otherwise instructed; even by the Word, and Works, and 'Spirit of God.

'To say that men bring forth these things when God doth 'them,—judge you if God will bear this? I wish that every 'sober heart, though he hath had temptations upon him of 'deserting this Cause of God, yet may take heed how he 'provokes and falls into the hands of the Living God by 'such blasphemies as these! According to the Tenth of the '*Hebrews*: 'If we sin wilfully after that we have received 'the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more sacrifice 'for sin.' "A terrible word." It was spoken to the Jews 'who, having professed Christ, apostatised from Him. What 'then? Nothing but a fearful 'falling into the hands of the 'Living God'!—They that shall attribute to this or that 'person the contrivances and production of those mighty 'things God hath wrought in the midst of us; and "fancy" 'that they have not been the Revolutions of Christ Himself,

'upon whose shoulders the government is laid,'—they 'speak against God, and they fall under His hand without a 'Mediator. That is, if we deny the Spirit of Jesus Christ 'the glory of all His works in the world; by which He 'rules kingdoms, and doth administer, and is the rod of His 'strength,—we provoke the Mediator: and He may say: I 'will leave you to God, I will not intercede for you; let Him 'tear you to pieces! I will leave thee to fall into God's 'hands; thou deniest me my sovereignty and power committed 'to me; I will not intercede nor mediate for thee; thou 'fallest into the hands of the Living God!—Therefore what-'soever you may judge men for, howsoever you may say, 'This 'is cunning, and politic, and subtle,'—take heed again, I say, 'how you judge of His Revolutions as the product of men's 'inventions!—I may be thought to press too much upon 'this theme. But I pray God it may stick upon your 'hearts and mine. The worldly-minded man knows nothing 'of this, but is a stranger to it; and thence his atheisms, 'and murmurings at instruments, yea, repining at God Him-'self. And no wonder; considering the Lord hath done 'such things amongst us as have not been known in the 'world these thousand years, and yet notwithstanding is not 'owned by us!—

'There is another Necessity, which you have put upon us, 'and we have not sought. I appeal to God, Angels and Men, '—if I shall "now" raise money according to the Article 'in the Government, "whether I am not compelled to do 'it"! Which "Government" had power to call you hither; 'and did;—and instead of seasonably providing for the Army, 'you have laboured to overthrow the Government, and the 'Army is now upon Free-quarter! And you would never 'so much as let me hear a tittle from you concerning it. 'Where is the fault? Has it not been as if you had a 'purpose to put this extremity upon us and the Nation? I 'hope, this was not in your minds. I am not willing to 'judge so:—but such is the state into which we are reduced.

'By the designs of some in the Army who are now in custody, 'it was designed to get as many of them as possible,— 'through discontent for want of money, the Army being in a 'barren country, near thirty weeks behind in pay, and upon 'other specious pretences,—to march for England out of 'Scotland; and, in discontent, to seize their General there '[*General Monk*], a faithful and honest man, that so another '[*Colonel Overton*] might head the Army. And all this 'opportunity taken from your delays. Whether will this be 'a thing of feigned Necessity? What could it signify, but ''The Army are in discontent already; and we will make them 'live upon stones; we will make them cast-off their governors 'and discipline'? What can be said to this? I list not 'to unsaddle myself, and put the fault upon your backs. 'Whether it hath been for the good of England, whilst men 'have been talking of this thing or the other [*Building Con-'stitutions*], and pretending liberty and many good words,— 'whether it has been as it should have been? I am confident 'you cannot think it has. The Nation will not think so. 'And if the worst should be made of things, I know not what 'the Cornish men nor the Lincolnshire men may think, or 'other Counties; but I believe they will all think *they are 'not safe*. A temporary suspension of 'caring for the greatest 'liberties and privileges' (if it were so, which is denied) 'would not have been of such damage as the not providing 'against Free-quarter hath run the Nation upon. And if it 'be my 'liberty' to walk abroad in the fields, or to take a 'journey, yet it is not my wisdom to do so when my house is 'on fire!—

'I have troubled you with a long Speech; and I believe 'it may not have the same resentment[1] with all that it hath 'with some. But because that is unknown to me, I shall 'leave it to God;—and conclude with this: That I think 'myself bound, as in my duty to God, and to the People of 'these Nations for their safety and good in every respect,—

[1] Means 'sense excited by it.'

'I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of 'these Nations, nor for common and public good, for you to 'continue here any longer. And therefore I do declare unto 'you, That I do dissolve this Parliament.'*

So ends the First Protectorate Parliament; suddenly, very unsuccessfully. A most poor hidebound Pedant Parliament; which reckoned itself careful of the Liberties of England; and was careful only of the Sheepskin Formulas of these; very blind to the Realities of these! Regardless of the facts and clamorous necessities of the Present, this Parliament considered that its one duty was to tie-up the hands of the Lord Protector well; to give him no supplies, no power; to make him and keep him the bound vassal and errand-man of this and succeeding Parliaments. This once well done, they thought all was done:—Oliver thought far otherwise. Their painful new-modelling and rebuilding of the Instrument of Government, with an eye to this sublime object, was pointing towards completion, little now but the key-stones to be let in:—when Oliver suddenly withdrew the centres! Constitutional arch and ashlar-stones, scaffolding, workmen, mortar-troughs and scaffold-poles sink in swift confusion; and disappear, regretted or remembered by no person,—not by this Editor for one.

By the arithmetical account of heads in England, the Lord Protector may surmise that he has lost his Enterprise. But by the real divine and human worth of thinking-souls in England, he still believes that he has it; by this, and by a higher mission too;—and 'will take a little pleasure to lose his life' before he loses it! He is not here altogether to count heads, or to count costs, this Lord Protector; he is in the breach of battle; placed there, as he understands, by his Great Commander. whatsoever his difficulties be, he must fight them, cannot quit them; must fight there till he die. This is the law of his position, in the eye of God, and also

* Old Pamphlet: reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 404-431.

of men. There is no return for him out of this Protectorship he has got into! Called to this post as I have been, placed in it as I am, 'To quit it, is what I will be willing to be rolled into my grave, and buried with infamy, before I will consent unto!'—

PART NINTH

THE MAJOR-GENERALS

1655-1656

CHRONOLOGICAL

THE Plots and perils to the Commonwealth which my Lord Protector spoke of to his honourable Members, were not an imagination, but a very tragic reality. Under the shadow of this Constitutioning Parliament strange things had been ripening: without some other eye than the Parliament's, Constitution and Commonwealth in general had been, by this time, in a bad way! A universal rising of Royalists combined with Anabaptists is in a real state of progress. Dim meetings there have been of Royalist Gentlemen, on nocturnal moors, in this quarter and in that, 'with cart-loads of arms,'—terrified at their own jingle, and rapidly dispersing again till the grand hour come. Anabaptist Levellers have had dim meetings, dim communications; will prefer Charles Stuart himself to the traitor Oliver, who has dared to attempt actual 'governing' of men. Charles Stuart has come down to Middleburg, on the Dutch coast, to be in readiness; 'Hyde is cock-sure.'[1] From the dreary old *Thurloes*, and rubbish-continents, of Spy Letters, Intercepted Letters, Letters of Intelligence; where, scattered at huge intervals, the History of England for those years still lies entombed, it is manifest

[1] Manning's Letter, in *Thurloe*, iii. 384.

Colonel Montague?
Earl of Sandwich?

enough what a winter and spring this was in England. A Protector left without supplies, obliged to cut his Parliament adrift, and front the matter alone; England, from end to end of it, ripe for an explosion; for a universal blazing-up of all the heterogeneous combustibilities it had; the Sacred Majesty waiting at Middleburg, and Hyde cock-sure!

Nevertheless it came all to nothing;—there being a Protector in it. The Protector, in defect of Parliaments, issued his own Ordinance, the best he could, for payment of old rates and taxes; which, as the necessity was evident, and the sum fixed upon was low, rather lower than had been expected, the Country quietly complied with. Indispensable supply was obtained: and as for the Plots, the Protector had long had his eye on them, had long had his nooses round them;—the Protector strangled them everywhere at the moment suitablest for him, and lodged the ringleaders of them in the Tower. Let us, as usual, try to extricate a few small elucidative facts from the hideous old Pamphletary Imbroglio, where facts and figments, ten thousand facts of no importance to one fact of some, lie mingled, like the living with the dead, in noisome darkness all of them: once extricated, they may assist the reader's fancy a little. Of Oliver's own in reference to this period, too characteristic a period to be omitted, there is little or nothing left us: a few detached Letters, hardly two of them very significant of Oliver; which cannot avail us much, but shall be inserted at their due places.

February 12*th*, 1654-5. News came this afternoon that Major John Wildman, chief of the *frantic* Anabaptist Party, upon whom the Authorities have had their eye of late, has been seized at Exton, near Marlborough, in Wilts; 'by a party of Major Butler's horse.' In his furnished lodging; 'in a room upstairs'; his door stood open: stepping softly up, the troopers found him leaning on his elbow, dictating to his clerk 'A Declaration of the free and well-affected People

of England now in Arms' (or shortly to be in Arms) 'against the Tyrant Oliver Cromwell':[1] a forcible piece, which can still be read, but only as a fragment, the zealous Major never having had occasion to finish it. They carried him to Chepstow Castle; locked him up there: and the free and well-affected People of England never got to Arms against the Tyrant, but were only in hopes of getting. Wildman was in the last Parliament; but could not sign the Recognition; went away in virtuous indignation, to act against the Tyrant by stratagem henceforth. He has been the centre of an extensive world of Plots this winter, as his wont from of old was: the mainspring of Royalist Anabaptistry, what we call the *frantic* form of Republicanism, which hopes to attain its object by assisting even Charles Stuart against the Tyrant Oliver. A stirring man; very flamy and very fuliginous: perhaps, since Freeborn John was sealed-up in Jersey, the noisiest man in England. The turning of the key on him in Chepstow will be a deliverance to us henceforth.

We take his capture as the termination of the Anabaptist-Royalist department of the Insurrection. Thurloe has now got all the threads of this Wildman business in his hand: the ringleaders are laid in prison, Harrison, Lord Grey of Groby and various others; kept there out of harm's way; dealt with in a rigorous, yet gentle, and what we must call great and manful manner. It is remarked of Oliver that none of this Party was ever brought to trial: his hope and wish was always that they might yet be reconciled to him. Colonel Sexby, once Captain Sexby, Trooper Sexby, our old acquaintance, one of Wildman's people,—has escaped on this occasion: better for himself had he been captured now, and saved from still madder courses he got into.

Sunday March 11th, 1654-5, in the City of Salisbury, about midnight, there occurs a thing worth noting. What may be called the general outcome of the Royalist department

[1] Whitlocke, p. 599; *Cromwelliana*, p. 151.

of the Insurrection. This too over England generally has, in all quarters where it showed itself, found some 'Major Butler' with due 'troops of horse' to seize it, to trample it out, and lay the ringleaders under lock and key. Hardly anywhere could it get the length of fighting: too happy if it could but gallop and hide. In Yorkshire, there was some appearance, and a few shots fired; but to no effect: poor Sir Henry Slingsby, and a Lord Malevrier, and others were laid hold of here; of whom the Lord escaped by stratagem; and poor Sir Henry lies prisoner in Hull,—where it will well behove him to keep quiet if he can! But on the Sunday night above mentioned, peaceful Salisbury is awakened from its slumbers by a real advent of Cavaliers. Sir Joseph Wagstaff, 'a jolly knight' of those parts, once a Royalist Colonel; he with Squire or Colonel Penruddock, 'a gentleman of fair fortune,' Squire or Major Grove, also of some fortune, and about Two-hundred others, did actually rendezvous in arms about the big Steeple that Sunday night, and ring a loud alarm in those parts.

It was Assize time; the Judges had arrived the day before. Wagstaff seizes the Judges in their beds, seizes the High Sheriff, and otherwise makes night hideous;—proposes on the morrow to hang the Judges, as a useful warning, which Mr. Hyde thinks it would have been; but is overruled by Penruddock and the rest. He orders the High Sheriff to proclaim King Charles; High Sheriff will not, not though you hang him; Town-crier will not, not even he though you hang him. The Insurrection does not speed in Salisbury, it would seem. The Insurrection quits Salisbury on Monday night, hearing that troopers are on foot; marches with all speed towards Cornwall, hoping for better luck there. Marches;—but Captain Unton Crook, whom we once saw before, marches also in the rear of it; marches swiftly, fiercely; overtakes it at South Molton in Devonshire 'on Wednesday about ten at night,' and there in few minutes puts an end to it. 'They fired out of windows on us,' but could make nothing of it. We took Penruddock,

Grove, and long lists of others: Wagstaff unluckily escaped.[1] The unfortunate men were tried, at Exeter, by a regular assize and jury; were found guilty, some of High Treason, some of 'Horse-stealing': Penruddock and Grove, stanch Royalists both and gallant men, were beheaded; several were hanged; a great many 'sent to Barbadoes';—and this Royalist conflagration too, which should have blazed all over England, is entirely damped out, having amounted to smoke merely, whereby many eyes are bleared! Indeed so prompt and complete is the extinction, thankless people begin to say there had never been anything considerable to extinguish. Had they stood in the middle of it,—had they seen the nocturnal rendezvous at Marston Moor, seen what Shrewsbury, what Rufford Abbey, what North Wales in general, would have grown to on the morrow,—in that case, thinks the Lord Protector not without some indignation, they had known![2] Wagstaff has escaped, and Wilmot Earl of Rochester so-called; right glad to be beyond seas again; and will look twice at an Insurrection before they embark in it in time coming.

A terrible Protector this; no getting of him overset! He has the ringleaders all in his hand, in prison or still at large; —as they love their estates and their life, let them be quiet. He can take your estate:—is there not proof enough to take your head, if he pleases? He dislikes shedding blood; but is very apt 'to *barbadoes*' an unruly man,—has sent and sends us by hundreds to Barbadoes, so that we have made an active verb of it: 'barbadoes you.'[3] Safest to let this Protector alone! Charles Stuart withdraws from Middleburg into the interior obscurities; and Mr. Hyde will not be so cock-sure another time. Mr. Hyde, much pondering how his secret could have been let out, finds that it is an underling of

[1] Crook's Letter, 'South Molton, 15th March 1654, two or three in the morning' (King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 637, § 15). *State Trials*, v. 767 et seqq.; Whitlocke, p. 601; Thurloe, iii. 365, 384, 391, 445; *Cromwelliana*, pp. 152-3—Official Letters in reference to this Plot, Appendix, No. 28.

[2] Postea, Speech v.

[3] Intercepted Letters, Thurloe, iii.

his, one Mr. Manning, a gentleman by birth, 'fond of fine clothes,' and in very straitened circumstances at present, who has been playing the traitor. Indisputably a traitor: wherefore the King in Council has him doomed to death; has him shot, in winter following, 'in the Duke of Neuburg's territory.'[1] Diligent Thurloe finds others to take his place.

May 28th, 1655. Desborow, who commands the Regular Troops in that insurrectionary Southwest region, is, by Commission bearing date this day, appointed *Major-General* of the Militia-forces likewise, and of all manner of civic and military forces at the disposal of the Commonwealth in those parts. Major-General over six counties specified in this Document; with power somewhat enlarged, and not easy to specify,—power, in fact, to look after the peace of the Commonwealth there, and do what the Council of State shall order him.[2] He coerces Royalists; questions, commits to custody suspected persons; keeps down disturbance by such methods as, on the spot, he finds wisest. A scheme found to answer well. The beginning of a universal Scheme of MAJOR-GENERALS, which develops itself into full maturity in the autumn of this year; the Lord Protector and his Council of State having well considered it in the interim, and found it the feasiblest; if not *good*, yet best.

By this Scheme, which we may as well describe here as afterwards, All England is divided into Districts; Ten Districts, a Major-General for each; let him be a man most carefully chosen, a man of real wisdom, valour and veracity, a man fearing God and hating covetousness; for his powers are great. He looks after the Good of the Commonwealth, spiritual and temporal, as he finds wisest. Ejects, or aids in ejecting, scandalous ministers; summons disaffected, suspected persons before him; demands an account of them; sends them to prison, failing an account that satisfies him;—and there is no appeal except to the Protector in Council.

[1] Clarendon, iii. 752; Whitlocke, p. 618 (Dec. 1655); Ludlow, ii. 6-8.
[2] Thurloe, iii 486.

His force is the Militia of his Counties; horse and foot, levied and kept in readiness for the occasion; especially troops of horse. Involving, of course, new expense;—which we decide that the Plotting Royalists, who occasion it, shall pay. On all Royalist disaffected Persons the Major-General therefore, as his first duty, is to lay an *Income-tax of Ten per-cent*; let them pay it quietly, or it may be worse for them. They pay it very quietly. Strange as it may seem, the Country submits very quietly to this arrangement;—the Major-Generals being men carefully chosen. 'It is an arbitrary Government!' murmur many. Yes; arbitrary, but beneficial. These are powers unknown to the English Constitution, I believe; but they are very necessary for the Puritan English Nation at this time. With men of real wisdom, who do fear God and hate covetousness, when you can find such men, you may to some purpose intrust considerable powers!

It is in this way that Oliver Protector coerces the unruly elements of England; says to them: 'Peace, ye! With the aid of Parliament and venerable Parchment, if so may be; without it, if so may not be,—I, called hither by a very good Authority, will hold you down. Quiet shall you, for your part, keep yourselves; or be "barbadoesed," and worse. Mark it; not while I live shall you have dominion, you nor the Master of you!'—Cock-matches, Horse-races and other loose assemblages are, for limited times, forbidden; over England generally, or in Districts where it may be thought somewhat is a-brewing. Without cock-fighting we can do; but not without Peace, and the absence of Charles Stuart and his Copartneries. It is a Government of some arbitrariness.

And yet singular, observes my learned friend, how popular it seems to grow. These considerable infringements of the constitutional fabric, prohibition of cock-fights, amercings of Royalists, taxing without consent in Parliament, seem not to awaken the indignation of England; rather almost the gratitude and confidence of England. Next year, we have 'Letters of great appearances of the Country at the Assizes;

and how the Gentlemen of the greatest quality served on Grand Juries; which is fit to be observed.'[1]

We mention, but cannot dwell upon it, another trait belonging to those Spring Months of 1655: the quarrel my Lord Protector had in regard to his Ordinance for the Reform of Chancery. Ordinance passed merely by the Protector in Council; never confirmed by any Parliament; which nevertheless he insists upon having obeyed. How our learned Bulstrode, learned Widdrington, two of the Keepers of the Great Seal, durst not obey; and Lisle the other Keeper durst;—and Old-Speaker Lenthall, Master of the Rolls, 'would be hanged at the Rolls Gate before he would obey.' What profound consults there were among us; buzz in the Profession, in the Public generally. And then how Oliver Protector, with delicate patient bridle-hand and yet with resolute spur, made us all obey, or else go out of that,—which latter step Bulstrode and Widdrington, with a sublime conscientious feeling, preferred to take, the big heart saying to itself, 'I have lost a thousand pounds a-year!' And Lenthall, for all his bragging, was not hanged at the Rolls Gate; but kept his skin whole, and his salary whole, and did as he was bidden. The buzz in the Profession, notwithstanding much abatement of fees, had to compose itself again.[2]—Bulstrode adds, some two months hence, 'The Protector being good-natured, and sensible of his harsh proceeding against Whitlocke and Widdrington,' made them Commissioners of the Treasury, which was a kind of compensation. There, with Montague and Sydenham, they had a moderately good time of it; but saw, not without a sigh, the Great Seal remain with Lisle who durst obey, and for colleague to him a certain well-known Nathaniel Fiennes, a shrewd man, Lord Say and Sele's son,—who knew nothing of that business, says Bulstrode, nay Lisle himself knew nothing of it till he learned it from *us*.[3] Console thyself,

[1] Whitlocke, p. 624 (April 1656).
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 602-8.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 608.

big heart. How seldom is sublime virtue rewarded in this world!

June 3d, 1655. This day come sad news out of Piedmont; confirmation of bad rumours there had been, which deeply affects all pious English hearts, and the Protector's most of all. It appears the Duke of Savoy had, not long since, decided on having certain poor Protestant subjects of his converted at last to the Catholic Religion. Poor Protestant people, who dwell in the obscure valleys 'of Lucerna, of Perosa and St. Martin,' among the feeders of the Po, in the Savoy Alps: they are thought to be descendants of the old Waldenses; a pious inoffensive people: dear to the hearts and imaginations of all Protestant men. These, it would appear, the Duke of Savoy, in the past year, undertook to himself to get converted; for which object he sent friars to preach among them. The friars could convert nobody; one of the friars, on the contrary, was found assassinated,—signal to the rest that they had better take themselves away. The Duke thereupon sent other missionaries: six regiments of Catholic soldiers; and an order to the People of the Valleys either to be converted straightway, or quit the country at once. They could not be converted all at once: neither could they quit the country well; the month was December; among the Alps; and it was their home for immemorial years! Six regiments, however, say they must; six Catholic regiments;—and three of them are Irish, made of the banished *Kurisees* we knew long since; whose humour, on such an occasion, we can guess at! It is admitted they behaved 'with little ceremony'; it is not to be denied they behaved with much bluster and violence: ferocities, atrocities, to the conceivable amount, still stand in authentic black-on-white against them. The Protestants of the Valleys were violently driven out of house and home, not without slaughters and tortures by the road;—had to seek shelter in French Dauphiné, or where they could; and, in mute or spoken supplication, appeal to all generous hearts of men. The

saddest confirmation of the actual banishment, the actual violences done, arrives at Whitehall, this day, 3d June 1655.[1]

Pity is perennial: 'Ye have *compassion* on one another,' —is it not notable, beautiful? In our days too, there are Polish Balls and suchlike: but the pity of the Lord Protector and Puritan England for these poor Protestants among the Alps is not to be measured by ours. The Lord Protector is melted into tears, and roused into sacred fire. This day the French Treaty, not unimportant to him, was to be signed: this day he refuses to sign it till the King and Cardinal undertake to assist him in getting right done in those poor Valleys.[2] He sends the poor exiles 2,000*l.* from his own purse; appoints a Day of Humiliation and a general Collection over England for that object;—has, in short, decided that he will bring help to these poor men; that England and he will see them helped and righted. How Envoys were sent; how blind Milton wrote Letters to all Protestant States, calling on them for coöperation; how the French Cardinal was shy to meddle, and yet had to meddle, and compel the Duke of Savoy, much astonished at the business, to do justice and *not* what he liked with his own: all this, recorded in the unreadablest stagnant deluges of old Official Correspondence,[3] is very certain, and ought to be fished therefrom and made more apparent.

In all which, as we can well believe, it was felt that the Lord Protector had been the Captain of England, and had truly expressed the heart and done the will of England;—in this, as in some other things. Milton's Sonnet and Six Latin Letters are still readable; the Protector's Act otherwise remains mute hitherto. Small damage to the Protector, if no other suffer thereby! Let it stand here as a symbol to us of his Foreign Policy in general; which had this one object,

[1] Letter of the French Ambassador (in *Thurloe*, iii. 470).
[2] Thurloe, ubi supra.
[3] *Ibid.* (much of vol. iii.); Vaughan's *Protectorate*, etc.

testified in all manner of negotiations and endeavours, noticed by us and not noticed, To make England Queen of the Protestant world; her, if there were no worthier Queen. To unite the Protestant world of struggling Light against the Papist world of potent Darkness. To stand upon God's Gospel, as the actual intrinsic Fact of this Practical Earth; and defy all potency of Devil's Gospels on the strength of that. Wherein, again, Puritan England felt gradually that this Oliver *was* her Captain; and in heart could not but say, Long life to him!—as we do now.

Let us note one other small private trait of Oliver in these months; and then hasten to the few Letters we have. Dull Bulstrode has jotted down: 'The Protector feasted the Commissioners for Approbation of Ministers.'[1] Means the Commission of Triers;[2] whom he has to dinner with him in Whitehall. Old Sir Francis, Dr. Owen and the rest. 'He sat at table with them; and was cheerful and familiar in their company': Hope you are getting on, my friends: how this is, and how that is? 'By such kind of little caresses,' adds Bulstrode, 'he gained much upon many persons.' Me, as a piece of nearly matchless law-learning and general wisdom, I doubt he never sufficiently respected; though he knew my fat qualities too, and was willing to use and recognise them!—

LETTERS CXCVIII—CCIII.

Six Letters of somewhat miscellaneous character; which we must take in mass, and with no word of Commentary that can be spared. Straggling accidental lightbeams, accidentally preserved to us, and still transiently illuminating this feature or that of the Protector and his business,—let them be welcome in the darkness for what they are.

[1] Whitlocke, April 1655. [2] Antea, p. 91.

LETTER CXCVIII

Besides the great Sea-Armament that sailed from Portsmouth last December, and went Westward, with sealed orders, which men begin to guess were for the Spanish West Indies, —the Protector had another Fleet fitted out under Blake, already famous as a Sea-General; which has been in the Mediterranean during these late months; exacting reparation for damages, old or recent, done to the English Nation or to individuals of it, by the Duke of Florence or by others; keeping an eye on Spain too, and its Plate Fleets, apparently with still ulterior objects.

The Duke of Florence has handsomely done justice; the Dey of Tunis was not so well advised, and has repented of it. There are Letters, dated March last, though they do not come till June: 'Letters that General Blake demanding at Tunis reparation for the losses of the English from Turkish Pirates, the Dey answered him with scorn, and bade him behold his Castles.' Blake did behold them; 'sailed into the Harbour within musket-shot of them; and though the shore was planted with great guns, he set upon the Turkish ships, fired nine of them,' and brought the Dey to reason, we apprehend.[1]

TO GENERAL BLAKE, "AT SEA"

Whitehall, 13th June 1655.

Sir,—I have received yours of the 25th of March, which gives account of the late Transactions between yourself and the Governors of Tunis, concerning the losses which the English have sustained by the piracies of that place; and "of" the success it pleased God to give in the attempt you made upon their shipping, after their positive refusal to give you satisfaction upon your just demands. And as we have great cause to acknowledge the good hand of God towards us in this Action

[1] Whitlocke, p. 608 (8th June 1655).

who, in all the circumstances thereof, as they have been represented by you, was pleased to appear very signally with you; so I think myself obliged to take notice of your courage and good conduct therein; and do esteem that you have done therein a very considerable service to this Commonwealth.

I hope you have received the former Despatches which were sent unto you by the way of Legorne, for your coming into Cadiz Bay with the Fleet; as also those which were sent by a Ketch immediately from hence; whereby you had also notice of three-months provisions then preparing to be sent,—which have since been sent away, under convoy of the Frigates the Centurion *and* Dragon*; and "I" hope they are safely arrived with you, they sailing from hence about the 28th of April.*

With this come farther Instructions concerning your disposing of the Fleet for the future; whereunto we do refer you. Besides which, we, having taken into consideration the present Design we have in the West Indies, have judged it necessary, That not only the King of Spain's Fleets coming from thence be intercepted (which as well your former Instructions as those now sent unto you require and authorise you to do), but that we endeavour also, as much as in us lies, to hinder him from sending any relief or assistance thither. You are therefore, during your abode with the Fleet in those seas, to inform yourself, by the best means you can, concerning the going of the King of Spain's Fleet for the West Indies; and shall, according to such information as you can gain, use your best endeavours to intercept at sea, and fight with and take them, or otherwise to fire and sink them; as also any other of his ships which you shall understand to be bound for the West Indies with provisions of War, for the aid and assistance of his subjects there; carrying yourself towards other of his ships and people as you are directed by your general Instructions.

"I rest, your loving friend,

OLIVER P." *

* Thurloe, iii. 547. (Same day, Letter to Poet Waller: Appendix, No 28, §7.)

The Sea-Armament *was* for the West Indies, then: good news of it were welcome!

Here is a short Letter of Blake's to the Protector, dated just the day before; in cipher;—which the reader, having never perhaps seen another Letter of Blake's, will not be displeased with. Unimportant; but bringing the old Seas, with their Puritan Sea-kings, with their 'Plate Fleets,' and vanished populations and traffics, bodily before us for moments.

'George, 12th June 1655.

'MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,—The secret Instructions sent by your Highness, referring me to a former Instruction, touching the Silver Fleet of Spain coming from America, I have received; and shall carefully observe the same. We had information at Cadiz that the Fleet was expected about a month or five weeks hence. We are now off Cape Mary's; intending to spread with our Fleet what we can, and to range this sea, according to the wind and the information we can get; plying likewise over towards Cape Sprat, it being their most likely and usual course. They of Cadiz are very distrustful of us; and there being four Galeons designed for the Mediterranean, and six for New Spain, it is doubtful how they may be employed.

'We shall use our best endeavours to put the Instructions in execution, as God shall afford an opportunity; desiring your Highness to rest assured of our diligence, and of the integrity of,—your most humble and faithful servant,

'ROBERT BLAKE.'[1]

June 13th is Wednesday. On the morrow is universal Fast-Day, Humiliation and Prayer, and public Collection of Money for the Protestants of Piedmont. A day of much pious emotion in England; and of liberal contribution, which continued on the following days. 'Clerks come to every man's house,' says a disaffected witness; 'come with their

[1] Thurloe, iii. 541.

papers, and you are forced to contribute.' The exact amount realised I never could very authentically learn. The Dutch Ambassador says 100,000*l.* The disaffected witness says, 'London City itself gave half-a-million,'—or seemed as it would give. 'The Ministers played their part to the full.'—the Ministers and the People and their Ruler. No French Treaty signed or signable till this thing be managed. At length the French were obliged to manage it; 9th September of this same year the thing was got managed;[1]—and by and by was got improved and still better managed, the Protector continuing all his days to watch over it, and over other similar things as they occurred, and to insist on seeing justice done respecting them.

LETTER CXCIX

The scheme of Major-Generals for England is not yet come to maturity; but it is coming: new occasional arrests and *barbadoes*ings continue, as the threads of old Plots are traced farther and farther. Monk keeps Scotland quiet; the hydra is for the present well under foot.

Meanwhile Henry Cromwell is despatched for Ireland, to see with his own eyes how matters stand there. A reverend godly Mr. Brewster, hardly known to us otherwise, is also proceeding thither; with whom the Lord Protector thinks good to salute his Son-in-Law Fleetwood, the Lord Deputy, Ireton's successor in Ireland. Henry Cromwell was there once before, on a somewhat similar mission, and acquitted himself well.[2] His title, this second time, is Major-General of the Army in Ireland. He is to command the forces in Ireland; one easily believes farther, he is to observe well and report faithfully how affairs are; and do his best to assist in rectifying them. Lord Deputy Fleetwood is by some thought to be of too lax temper for his place: he, with his Ludlows,

[1] See Thurloe, iii. 549, 623, 745, etc.
[2] March 1653-4 (Thurloe, ii. 149).

Axtels and discontented Republicans, not to speak of other businesses, would need energy, if he have it not. Rumour has even risen that Henry Cromwell is now sent to supersede him; which, however, the Protector expressly contradicts.

The rumour nevertheless proved, if not true, yet prophetic of the truth. Henry Cromwell acquitted himself well this second time also; being, as we judge, a man of real insight, veracity and resolution; very fit for such a service. Many of his Letters, all creditable to him, are in *Thurloe*: 'Petitions' from certain Irish parties come likewise to view there, That *he* might be appointed Deputy; which Petitions are, for the present, carefully 'suppressed,' yet have in the end to be complied with;—they and the nature of the case, we suppose, require compliance. Some fifteen months hence, Henry is appointed Lord Deputy;[1] Fleetwood, in some handsome way, recalled. In which situation Henry continues till the end of the Protectorate, making really an honourable figure; and then, the scene having altogether changed, retires from it into total obscurity, still in a very manful, simple and noble way.[2]

'My dear Biddy,' in this Letter, is Bridget Fleetwood, whom we once saw as Bridget Ireton;[3] who, for her religious and other worth, is 'a joy to my heart.' Of 'Mr. Brewster,' and the other reverend persons, Spiritual Fathers, held in such regard by the Lord Protector as is due to Spiritual Fatherhood, and pious nobleness of Intellect under whatever guise, I can say nothing; they are Spiritual Great-*grand*-fathers of ours, and we have had to forget them! Some slight notices of Brewster, who I think was a Norfolk man, and more of Cradock, who was Welsh,—zealous Preachers both,—are in the *Milton State-Papers*:[4] they prove the fervent zeal, faith and fearlessness of these worthies;—not necessary to extract

[1] 21st November 1657 (Thurloe, vi. 632).

[2] His Letter to Clarendon, in *Thurloe*, i. 763; see also Tanner MSS. li. 71, a prior Letter to Speaker Lenthall.

[3] Vol. i. p. 253.

[4] pp. 85, 158, etc.

in this place. Cradock writes to Cromwell in 1652 that his heart overflows with prayers and praise to God for sending such a man; that he has often stept aside to pray for him, in some thicket or ditch by the wayside, while travelling along, and thinking of him;—which Dryasdust Nicols, the Editor of these *Milton State-Papers*, considers a very ludicrous proceeding. Godly 'Mr. Tillinghurst,' so noble a phenomenon to Oliver and Fleetwood, is to us fallen altogether silent:—seemingly some godly Preacher, of very modest nature; who, in his old days, being brought once before the Lord Protector, cried it was a 'shame' to trouble any Lord Protector, or Sovereign Person, with the like of him! The venerable hoary man. And godly Mr. Troughton, or 'Throughton,' too, was there. O Tillinghurst, O Troughton, how much lies buried![1]

"TO THE LORD FLEETWOOD, LORD DEPUTY OF IRELAND"

"Whitehall," 22d June 1655.

Dear Charles,—I write not often: at once I desire thee to know I most dearly love thee; and indeed my heart is plain to thee as thy heart can well desire: let nothing shake thee in this. The wretched jealousies that are amongst us, and the spirit of calumny turn all into gall and wormwood. My heart is for the People of God: that the Lord knows, and will in due time manifest; yet thence are my wounds;—which though it grieves me, yet through the grace of God doth not discourage me totally. Many good men are repining at everything; though indeed very many good "are" well satisfied, and satisfying daily. The will of the Lord will bring forth good in due time.

[1] Buried but indisputable traces of this Tillinghurst, certain authentic, still legible entries concerning him, in one of which Brewster too is named, have been detected by a friendly eye in the Record-Book of the Independent Church at Great Yarmouth; where Tillinghurst, it clearly enough appears, was Minister from 1651 to 1654, and much followed and valued as a Preacher and Spiritual Guide in those parts. Brewster, likewise an Independent, was at Alby in the same neighbourhood.—MS. Excerpts penes me (*Note to Third Edition*).

It's reported that you are to be sent for, and Harry to be Deputy; which truly never entered into my heart. The Lord knows, my desire was for him and his Brother to have lived private lives in the country: and Harry knows this very well, and how difficultly I was persuaded to give him his commission for his present place. This I say as from a simple and sincere heart. The noise of my being crowned etc. are similar[1] *malicious figments.*

Use this Bearer, Mr. Brewster, kindly. Let him be near you: indeed he is a very able holy man; trust me you will find him so. He was a bosom-friend of Mr. Tillinghurst; ask him of him; you will thereby know Mr. Tillinghurst's spirit. This Gentleman brought him to me a little before he died, and Mr. Cradock;—Mr. Throughton, a godly minister being by, with "Mr. Tillinghurst" himself, who cried 'Shame'!

Dear Charles, my dear love to thee; "and" to my dear Biddy, who is a joy to my heart, for what I hear of the Lord in her. Bid her be cheerful, and rejoice in the Lord once and again: if she knows the Covenant,[2] *she cannot but do "so." For that Transaction is without* her*; sure and stedfast, between the Father and the Mediator in His blood: therefore, leaning upon the Son, or looking to Him, thirsting after Him, and embracing Him, we are His Seed;—and the Covenant is sure to all the Seed. The Compact is for the Seed: God is bound in faithfulness to Christ, and in Him to us: the Covenant is without* us*; a Transaction between God and Christ.*[3] *Look up to* it. *God engageth in it to pardon us; to write His Law in our heart; to plant His fear "so" that we shall never depart from Him. We, under all our sins and infirmities, can daily offer a perfect Christ; and thus we have peace and safety, and apprehension of love, from a Father in Covenant,*

[1] 'like' in orig.

[2] Covenant of Grace; much expounded, and insisted on, by Dr. Owen, among others; and ever a most fundamental point of God's Arrangement, according to the theory of Oliver.

[3] The reader who discerns no spiritual meaning in all this, shall try it again, if I may advise him.

—who cannot deny Himself. And truly in this is all my salvation; and this helps me to bear my great burdens.

If you have a mind to come over with your dear Wife etc., take the best opportunity for the good of the Public and your own convenience. The Lord bless you all. Pray for me, that the Lord would direct, and keep me his servant. I bless the Lord I am not my own;—but my condition to flesh and blood is very hard. Pray for me; I do for you all. Commend me to all friends. I rest your loving father, OLIVER P.*

Courage, my brave Oliver! Thou hast but some three years more of it, and then the coils and puddles of this Earth, and of its poor unthankful doggery of a population, are all behind thee; and Carrion Heath, and Chancellor Hyde, and Charles Stuart the Christian King, can work their will; for thou hast done with it, thou art above it in the serene azure for evermore!

Fleetwood, I observe, did come over: in January next we find the 'Lord Deputy' busy here in London with Bulstrode, and others of the Treasury, on high matters of State.[1] He did not return to Ireland; got into Major-Generalings, into matters of State, on this side the Channel; and so ended his Deputyship;—dropping without violence, like fruit fully ripe; the management of Ireland having gradually all shifted into Henry Cromwell's hand in the interim.

LETTER CC

HERE, fluttering loose on the dim confines of Limbo and the Night-realm, is a small Note of Oliver's, issuing one knows not whence, but recognisable as his, which we must snatch and save. A private and thrice-private Note, for Secretary Thurloe; curiously disclosing to us, as one or two other traits elsewhere do, that, with all his natural courtesies, noble simplicities and affabilities, this Lord Protector knew on occasion the word-of-

* Thurloe, iii. 572.

[1] Whitlocke, p. 618 (7th Jan. 1655-6).

command too, and what the meaning of a Lord Protector, King, or Chief Magistrate in the Commonwealth of England was.

'Margery Beacham,' Wife of William Beacham, Mariner, lives, the somnolent Editors do not apprise us where,—probably in London or some of the Out Ports; certainly in considerable indigence at present. Her poor Husband, in the course of 'many services to the Commonwealth by sea and land,' has quite lost the use of his right arm; has a poor 'Pension of Forty shillings allowed him from Chatham'; has Margery, and one poor Boy Randolph, 'tractable to learn,' but who can get no schooling out of such an income. Wherefore, as seems but reasonable, Margery petitions his Highness that the said Randolph might be admitted 'a Scholar of Sutton's Hospital, commonly called the Charterhouse,' in London.[1]

His Highness, who knows the services of William Beacham, and even 'a secret service' of his not mentioned in the Petition or Certificates, straightway decides that the Boy Beacham is clearly a case for Sutton's Bounty, and that the Commissioners of the same shall give it him. But now it seems the Chief Commissioner, whose name in this Note stands ——*Blank Blank*, is not so prompt in the thing; will consider it, will etc. Consider it? His Highness dockets the Petition, 'We *refer* this to the Commissioners for Sutton's Hospital: 28th July 1655'; and instructs Thurloe to inform Blank Blank that he had much better not consider it, but do it! Which there is no doubt Blank Blank now saw at once to be the real method of the business.

"TO MR. SECRETARY THURLOE"

"Whitehall," 28th July 1655.

You receive from me, this 28th instant, a Petition from Margery Beacham, desiring the admission of her Son into the Charterhouse; whose Husband[2] *was employed one day*

[1] Her Petition printed, without date, in Scatcherd, etc. ubi infra.

[2] 'who' in the hasty original, as if Margery's self or Son were meant.

in an important secret service, which he did effectually, to our great benefit and the Commonwealth's.

I have wrote under it a common Reference to the Commissioners; but I mean a great deal more: That it shall be done without their debate or consideration of the matter. And so do you privately hint to ——— ———. *I have not the particular shining bauble for crowds to gaze at or kneel to, but—To be short, I know how to deny Petitions; and whatever I think proper, for outward form, to 'refer' to any Officer or Office, I expect that such my compliance with custom shall be looked upon as an indication of my will and pleasure to have the thing* done. *Thy true friend,*

*OLIVER P.**

LETTER CCI

WE fear there is little chance of the Plate Fleet this year; bad rumours come from the West Indies too, of our grand Armament and Expedition thither. The Puritan Sea-king meanwhile keeps the waters; watches the coasts of Spain;—which, however, are growing formidable at present.

The 'Person bound for Lisbon' is Mr. Meadows, one of Secretary Thurloe's Under-secretaries; concerning whom and whose business there will be farther speech by and by. Of the 'Commissioners of the Admiralty' we name only Colonel

* Scatcherd's *History of Morley* (Leeds, 1830), p. 332. Printed there, and in *Annual Register* (for 1758, p. 268), and elsewhere; without commentary, or indication Whence or How,—with several impertinent interpolations which are excluded here. In the *Annual Register* vague reference is made to a Book called *Collection of Letters etc.* 'compiled by Leonard Howard, D.D.,' who seems to be the first publisher of this Note; author, I suppose, of the impertinent interpolations, which vary in different copies, but being exactly indicated in all, are easily thrown out again as here. In Howard's Book (a disorganic Quarto, London, 1753; one volume published, a second promised but nowhere discoverable), which is credibly described to me as 'one of the most confused farragos ever printed,' search for this Note has been made, twice, to no purpose; and with little hope of elucidation there, had the Note been found. By internal evidence a genuine Note; and legible as we have it.

Montague of Hinchinbrook, who is getting very deep in these matters, and may himself be Admiral one day.

TO THE GENERAL OF THE FLEET, "GENERAL BLAKE, AT SEA"

"Whitehall," 30th July 1655.

Sir,—We have received yours of the 4th, as also that of the 6th instant, both at once; the latter signifying the great preparations which are making against you.

Some intelligence of that nature is also come to us from another hand. Which hath occasioned us to send away this Despatch unto you, immediately upon the receipt of yours, to let you know That we do not judge it safe for you, whilst things are in this condition, to send away any part of the Fleet, as you were directed by our Instructions of the 13th of June;[1] *and therefore, notwithstanding those Orders, you are to keep the whole Fleet with you, until you have executed the Secret Instructions,*[2] *or find the opportunity is over for the doing thereof.*

We think it likewise requisite that you keep with you the two Frigates which conveyed the victuals to you; as also the Nantwich, *which was sent to you with a Person bound for Lisbon with our instructions to that King. And for the defects of the Fleet, the Commissioners of the Admiralty will take care thereof; and be you confident that nothing shall be omitted which can be done here for your supply and encouragement.*

I beseech the Lord to be present with you. I rest, your very loving friend,

*OLIVER P.**

Copied 'in Secretary Thurloe's hand'; who has added the following Note: 'With this Letter was sent the intelligence of the twenty ships coming across the Straits, and of the

[1] Antea, Letter CXCVIII.

[2] In Blake's Letter, antea;—they concern the 'Silver Fleet' most likely.

* Thurloe, iii. 688.

thirty-one ships and eight fire-ships— [*word lost*] —in Cadiz'· dangerous ships and fire-ships, which belong all now to the vanished generations: and have sailed, one knows not whence, one knows not whither!

COMPLIMENT

PRECISELY in those same summer days there has come a brilliant Swedish gentleman, as Extraordinary Ambassador to this Country from the King of Swedeland. A hot, high-tempered, clear-shining man; something fierce, metallic in the lustre of him. Whose negotiations, festivities, impatiences, and sudden heats of temper, occupy our friend Bulstrode almost exclusively for a twelvemonth. We will say only, He has come hither to negotiate a still stricter league of amity between the two Countries; in which welcome enterprise the Lord Protector seems rather to complicate him by endeavouring to include the Dutch in it, the Prussians and Danes in it, —to make it, in fact, a general League, or basis for a League, of Protestants against the Power of Rome, and Antichristian Babylon at large; which in these days, under certain Austrian Kaisers, Spanish Kings, Italian Popes, whose names it may be interesting not to remember, is waxing very formidable. It was an object the Protector never ceased endeavouring after; though in this, as in other instances, with only partial, never with entire success.

Observe however, as all Old London observes, on the night of Saturday July 28th, 1655, the far-shining Procession by torchlight. Procession 'from Tower-wharf to the late Sir Abraham Williams's in Westminster'; this brilliant Swedish Gentleman with numerous gilt coaches and innumerable outriders and onlookers, making his advent then and thus; Whitlocke, Montague, Strickland (for we love to be particular) officially escorting him. Observe next how he was nobly entertained three days in that Williams House, at the Protector's charges; and on the third day had his audience of

the Protector; in a style of dignity worth noting by Bulstrode. Sir Oliver Fleming; 'galleries full of ladies,' 'Lifeguards in their gray frock-coats with velvet welts'; lanes of gentlemen, seas of general public: conceive it all; truly dignified, decorous; scene 'the Banqueting House of Whitehall, hung with arras': and how at the upper end of the room the Lord Protector was seen standing 'on a footpace and carpet, with a chair of state behind him'; and how the Ambassador saluted thrice as he advanced, thrice lifting his noble hat and feathers, as the Protector thrice lifted his; and then—Bulstrode shall give the rest:

'After a little pause, the Ambassador put off his hat, and began to speak, and then put it on again: and whensoever, in his speech, he named the King his master, or Sweden, or the Protector, or England, he moved his hat: especially if he mentioned anything of God, or the good of Christendom, he put off his hat very low; and the Protector still answered him in the like postures of civility. The Ambassador spake in the Swedish language; and after he had done, being but short, his Secretary Berkman did interpret it in Latin to this effect' — — Conceivable, without repetition, to ingenious readers. A stately, far-shining speech, done into Latin; 'being but short.'

And now 'after his Interpreter had done, the Protector stood still a pretty while; and, putting off his hat to the Ambassador, with a carriage full of gravity and state, he answered him in English to this effect':

'My Lord Ambassador, I have great reason to acknow-
'ledge, with thankfulness, the respects and good affection of
'the King your master towards this Commonwealth, and
'towards myself in particular. Whereof I shall always re-
'tain a very grateful memory; and shall be ready upon all
'occasions to manifest the high sense and value I have of
'his Majesty's friendship and alliance.

'My Lord, you are welcome into England; and during

'your abode here, you shall find all due regard and respect 'to be given to your person, and to the business about which 'you come. I am very willing to enter into a 'nearer and 'more strict alliance and friendship with the King of Swede-'land,' as that which, in my judgment, will tend much to 'the honour and commodity of both Nations, and to the 'general advantage of the Protestant Interest. I shall 'nominate some Persons to meet and treat with your Lord-'ship upon such particulars as you shall communicate to 'them.'

After which, Letters were presented, *etceteras* were transacted, and then, with a carriage full of gravity and state, they all withdrew to their ulterior employments, and the scene vanishes.[1]

LETTER CCII

IT is too sad a truth, the Expedition to the West Indies has failed! Sea-General Penn, Land-General Venables have themselves come home, one after the other, with the disgraceful news; and are lodged in the Tower, a fortnight ago, for quitting their post without orders. Of all which we shall have some word to say anon. But take first these glimpses into other matters, foreign and domestic, on sea and land,—as the Oblivions have chanced to leave them visible for us. 'Cascais Bay' is at the mouth of the Tagus: General Blake seems still king of the waters in those parts.

"TO GENERAL BLAKE, AT SEA"

Whitehall, 13th September 1655.

Sir,—We have received yours from Cascais Bay, of the 30th of August; and were very sensible of the wants of the Fleet as they were represented by your last before; and had given directions for three-months' provisions,—which were all

[1] Whitlocke, pp. 609-10.

prepared, and sent from Portsmouth, some time since, under the convoy of the Bristol *Frigate. But the Commissioners of the Admiralty have had Letters yesterday that they were forced back, by contrary winds, into Plymouth, and are there now attending for the first slack of wind, to go to sea again. And the Commissioners of the Admiralty are instructed*[1] *to quicken them by an express; although it is become very doubtful whether those provisions can "now" come in time for supplying of your wants.*

And for what concerns the fighting of the Fleet of Spain, whereof your said Letter makes mention, we judge it of great consequence, and much for the service of the Commonwealth, that this Fleet were fought; as well in order to the executing your former Instructions, as for the preservation of our ships and interest in the West Indies: and our meaning was, by our former Order, and still is, That the Fleet which shall come for the guarding of the Plate Fleet, as we conceive this doth, should be attempted. But in respect we have not certain knowledge of the strength of the Spanish Fleet, nor of the condition of your Fleet, which may alter every day,—we think it reasonable, at this distance, not to oblige you by any positive order to engage; but must, as we do hereby, leave it to you, who are upon the place, and know the state of things, to handle the rein as you shall find your opportunity and the ability of the Fleet to be: —as we also do for your coming home, either for want of provisions or in respect of the season of the year, at such time as you shall judge it to be for the safety of the Fleet. And we trust the Lord will guide and be with you in the management of this thing. Your very loving friend, OLIVER P.

"*P.S.*" *In case your return should be so soon as that you should not make use of the Provisions now sent you, or but little thereof, we desire you to cause them to be preserved; they may be applied to other uses.**

[1] 'commands of the Admiralty are required' in orig.

* Thurloe, i. 724,—in cipher; and seemingly of Thurloe's composition.

LETTER CCIII

"TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF MARYLAND"

Whitehall, 26th September 1655.

Sirs,—It seems to us by yours of the 29th of June, and by the relation we received by Colonel Bennet, that some mistake or scruple hath arisen concerning the sense of our Letters of the 12th of January last,[1]*—as if, by our Letters, we had intimated that we would have a stop put to the proceedings of those Commissioners who were authorised to settle the Civil Government of Maryland. Which was not at all intended by us; nor so much as proposed to us by those who made addresses to us to obtain our said Letter: but our intention (as our said Letter doth plainly import) was only, To prevent and forbid any force or violence to be offered by either of the Plantations of Virginia or Maryland, from one to the other, upon the differences concerning their bounds: the said differences being then under the consideration of Ourself and Council here. Which, for your most full satisfaction, we have thought fit to signify to you; and rest, your loving friend,*

*"OLIVER P."**

A very obscure American Transaction;—sufficiently lucid for our Cisatlantic purposes; nay shedding a kind of light or twilight into extensive dim regions of Oblivion on the other side of the Ocean. Bancroft, and the other American authorities, who have or have not noticed this Letter, will with great copiousness explain the business to the curious.

The Major-Generals are now all on foot, openly since the middle of August last;[2] and an Official Declaration published on the subject. Ten military Major-Generals, Ten or finally Twelve, with militia-forces, horse and foot, at their beck; coercing Royalist Revolt, and other Anarchy; 'decimating' it,

[1] Antea, p. 161.

[2] Order-Book of the Council of State: cited in Godwin (iv. 228).

* Thurloe, iv. 55.

that is, levying Ten per-cent upon the Income of it; summoning it, cross-questioning it,—peremptorily signifying to it that it will not be allowed here, that it had better cease in this Country. They have to deal with Quakers also, with Anabaptists, Scandalous Ministers, and other forms of Anarchy. The powers of these men are great: much need that they be just men and wise, men fearing God and hating covetousness; —all turns on that! They will be supportable, nay welcome and beneficial, if so. Insupportable enough, if not so:—as indeed what official person, or man under any form, except the form of a slave well-collared and driven by whips, is or ought to be supportable 'if *not* so'? We subjoin a list of their names, as historically worthy, known or unknown to the reader, here.[1]

Soon after this Letter, 'in the month of October 1655,' there was seen a strange sight at Bristol in the West. A Procession of Eight Persons; one, a man on horseback, riding single; the others, men and women, partly riding double, partly on foot, in the muddiest highway, in the wettest weather; singing, all but the single-rider, at whose bridle splash and walk two women: 'Hosannah! Holy, holy! Lord

[1] *General Desborow* has the Counties: Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall.
Colonel Kelsey: Kent and Surrey.
Colonel Goffe: Sussex, Hants, Berks.
Major-General Skippon: London.
Colonel Barkstead (Governor of the Tower): Middlesex and Westminster.
Lord Deputy Fleetwood (who never returns to Ireland): Oxford, Bucks, Herts; Cambridge, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk,—for these last four he can appoint a substitute (*Colonel Haynes*).
General Whalley: Lincoln, Notts, Derby, Warwick, Leicester.
Major Butler: Northampton, Bedford, Rutland, Huntingdon.
Colonel Berry (Richard Baxter's friend, once a Clerk in the Ironworks): Hereford, Salop, North Wales.
General (Sea-General) *Dawkins*: Monmouth and South Wales.
Colonel Worseley: Cheshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire.
The Lord Lambert: York, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, —can appoint substitutes (*Colonel Robert Lilburn*, *Colonel Charles Howard*).

God of Sabaoth!' and other things, 'in a buzzing tone,' which the impartial hearer could not make out. The single-rider is a raw-boned male figure, 'with lank hair reaching below his cheeks'; hat drawn close over his brows; 'nose rising slightly in the middle'; of abstruse 'down look,' and large dangerous jaws strictly closed; he sings not; sits there covered, and is sung-to by the others bare. Amid pouring deluges, and mud knee-deep: 'so that the rain ran in at their necks, and they vented it at their hose and breeches': a spectacle to the West of England and Posterity! Singing as above; answering no question except in song. From Bedminster to Ratcliff Gate, along the streets, to the High Cross of Bristol: at the High Cross they are laid hold of by the Authorities;—turn out to be James Nayler and Company. James Nayler, 'from Andersloe' or Ardsley 'in Yorkshire,' heretofore a Trooper under Lambert; now a Quaker and something more. Infatuated Nayler and Company; given up to Enthusiasm,—to Animal-Magnetism, to Chaos and Bedlam in one shape or other! Who will need to be coerced by the Major-Generals, I think;—to be forwarded to London, and there sifted and cross-questioned.[1] Is not the Spiritualism of England developing itself in strange forms? The Hydra, royalist and sansculottic, has many heads.

George Fox, some time before this, had made his way to the Protector himself; to represent to him the undeserved sufferings of Friends,—and what a faithful people they were, though sansculottic, or wearing suits sometimes merely of perennial leather. George's huge *Journal*, to our regret, has no dates; but his Interview with the Protector, once in these late months, is authentic, still visible to the mind. George, being seized in Leicestershire, 'carried-up to the Mews,' and otherwise tribulated by subaltern authorities, contrived to make the Protector hear some direct voice of him, appoint some hour to see him. 'It was on a morning': George

[1] Examination of them (in *Harleian Miscellany*, vi. 424-39).

went; was admitted to the Protector's bedchamber, 'where one Harvey, who had been a little among Friends,' but had not proved entirely obedient,—the Harvey who will write us a very valuable little Pamphlet one day,[1]—was dressing him. 'Peace be in this house!' George Fox 'was moved to say.' Peace, O George. 'I exhorted him,' writes George, 'to keep in the fear of God,' whereby he might 'receive Wisdom from God,' which would be a useful guidance for any Sovereign Person. In fact, I had 'much discourse' with him; explaining what I and Friends had been led to think 'concerning Christ and His Apostles' of old time, and His Priests and Ministers of new; concerning Life and concerning Death;—concerning this unfathomable Universe in general, and the Light in it that is from Above, and the Darkness in it that is from Below: to all which the Protector 'carried himself with much moderation.' Yes, George; this Protector has a sympathy with the Perennial; and feels it across the Temporary: no hulls, leathern or other, can entirely hide it from the sense of him. 'As I spake, he several times said, "That is very good" and, "That is true."'—Other persons coming in, persons of quality so-called, I drew back; lingered; and then was for retiring: 'he caught me by the hand,' and with moist-beaming eyes, 'said: "Come again to my house! If thou and I were but an hour of the day together, we should be nearer one to the other. I wish no more harm to thee than I do to my own soul."'—'Hearken to God's voice!' said George in conclusion: 'Whosoever hearkens to *it*, his heart is not hardened'; *his* heart remains true, open to the Wisdoms, to the Noblenesses; with him it shall be well!—'Captain Drury' wished me to stay among the Lifeguard gentlemen, and dine with them; but I declined, not being free thereunto.[2]

[1] *Passages in his Highness's Last Sickness.*
[2] *Fox's Journal* (Leeds, 1836), i. 265.

LETTERS CCIV—CCVI

JAMAICA

We said already the grand Sea-Armament, which sailed from Portsmouth at Christmas 1654, had proved unsuccessful. It went westward; opened its Sealed Instructions at a certain latitude; found that they were instructions to attack Hispaniola, to attack the Spanish Power in the West Indies: it did attack Hispaniola, and lamentably failed; attacked the Spanish Power in the West Indies, and has hitherto realised almost nothing,—a mere waste Island of Jamaica, to all appearance little worth the keeping at such cost. It is hitherto the unsuccessfulest enterprise Oliver Cromwell ever had concern with. Desborow fitted it out at Portsmouth, while the Lord Protector was busy with his First refractory Pedant Parliament; there are faults imputed to Desborow: but the grand fault the Lord Protector imputes to himself, That he chose, or sanctioned the choice of, Generals improper to command it. Sea-General Penn, Land-General Venables, they were unfortunate, they were incompetent; fell into disagreements, into distempers of the bowels; had critical Civil Commissioners with them, too, who did not mend the matter. Venables lay 'six weeks in bed,' very ill of sad West-India maladies; for the rest, a covetous lazy dog, who cared nothing for the business, but wanted to be home at his Irish Government again. Penn is Father of Penn the Pennsylvanian Quaker; a man somewhat quick of temper, 'like to break his heart' when affairs went wrong; unfit to right them again. As we said, the two Generals came voluntarily home in the end of last August, leaving the wreck of their forces in Jamaica; and were straightway lodged in the Tower for quitting their post.

A great Armament of Thirty, nay of Sixty Ships; of Four-thousand soldiers, two regiments of whom were veterans, the

rest a somewhat sad miscellany of broken Royalists, unruly Levellers, and the like, who would volunteer,—whom Venables augmented at Barbadoes, with a still more unruly set, to Nine-thousand: this great Armament the Lord Protector has strenuously hurled, as a sudden fiery bolt, into the dark Domdaniel of Spanish Iniquity in the far West; and it has exploded there, almost without effect. The Armament saw Hispaniola, and Hispaniola with fear and wonder saw it, on the 14th of April 1655: but the Armament, a sad miscellany of distempered unruly persons, durst not land 'where Drake had landed,' and at once take the Town and Island: the Armament hovered hither and thither; and at last agreed to land some sixty miles off; marched therefrom through thick-tangled woods, under tropical heats, till it was nearly dead with mere marching; was then set upon by ambuscadoes; fought miserably ill, the unruly persons of it, or would not fight at all; fled back to its ships a mass of miserable disorganic ruin; and 'dying there at the rate of two-hundred a day,' made for Jamaica.[1]

Jamaica, a poor unpopulous Island, was quickly taken, as rich Hispaniola might have been, and the Spaniards were driven away: but to men in biliary humour it seemed hardly worth the taking or the keeping. 'Immense droves of wild cattle, cows and horses, run about Jamaica'; dusky Spaniards dwell in *hatos*, in unswept shealings; '80,000 hogs are killed every year for the sake of their lard, which is sold under the name of *hog's-butter* at Carthagena'· but what can we do with all that! The poor Armament continuing to die as if by murrain, and all things looking worse and worse to poor biliary Generals, Sea-General Penn set sail for home, whom Land-General Venables swiftly followed; leaving 'Vice-Admiral Goodson,' 'Major-General Fortescue,' or almost whosoever liked, to manage in their absence, and their ruined moribund forces to die as they could;—and are now lodged in the

[1] *Journal of the English Army in the West Indies*, by an Eye-witness (in *Harl. Miscell.* vi. 372-390). A lucid and reasonable Narrative.

Tower, as they deserved to be. The Lord Protector, and virtually England with him, had hoped to see the dark empire of bloody Antichristian Spain a little shaken in the West; some reparation got for its inhuman massacrings and long-continued tyrannies,—massacrings, exterminations of us, 'at St. Kitts in 1629, at Tortuga in 1637, at Santa Cruz in 1650'; so, in the name of England, had this Lord Protector hoped; and he has now to take his disappointment.

The ulterior history of these Western Affairs, of this new Jamaica under Cromwell, lies far dislocated, drowned deep in the Slumber-Lakes of *Thurloe* and Company; in a most dark, stupefied, and altogether dismal condition. A history indeed, which, as you painfully fish it up and by degrees reawaken it to life, is in itself sufficiently dismal. Not much to be intermeddled with here. The English left in Jamaica, the English successively sent thither, prosper as ill as need be; still die, soldiers and settlers of them, at a frightful rate per day; languish, for most part, astonished in their strange new sultry element; and cannot be brought to front with right manhood the deadly inextricable jungle of tropical confusions, outer and inner, in which they find themselves. Brave Governors, Fortescue, Sedgwick, Brayne, one after the other, die rapidly, of the climate and of broken heart; their life-fire all spent there, in that dark chaos, and as yet no result visible. It is painful to read what misbehaviour there is, what difficulties there are.[1]

Almost the one steady light-point in the business is the Protector's own spirit of determination. If England have now a 'West-India Interest,' and Jamaica be an Island worth something, it is to this Protector mainly that we owe it. Here too, as in former darknesses, 'Hope shines in him, like a pillar of fire, when it has gone out in all the others.' Having put his

[1] Thurloe, iii. iv.,—in very many places, all in a most unedited, confused condition. Luminous Notices too in Carte's *Ormond Papers*, ii. Long's *History of Jamaica* (London, 1774), i. 221 et seqq., gives in a vague but tolerably correct way some of the results of *Thurloe*; which Bryan Edwards has abridged. Godwin (iv. 192-200) is exact, so far as he goes.

hand to this work, he will not for any discouragement turn back. Jamaica shall yet be a colony; Spain and its dark Domdaniel shall yet be smitten to the heart,—the enemies of God and His Gospel, by the soldiers and servants of God. It must, and it shall. We have failed in the West, but not wholly; in the West and in the East, by sea and by land, as occasion shall be ministered, we will try it again and again.

'On the 28th of November 1655, the Treaty with France is proclaimed by heralds and trumpets,' say the Old Newspapers.[1] Alliance with France, and *Declaration* against Spain, —within the tropics where there is never Peace, and without the tropics where Peace yet is, there shall now be War with Spain. Penn and Venables, cross-questioned till no light farther could be had from them, are dismissed; in Penn's stead, Montague is made Admiral.[2] We will maintain Jamaica, send reinforcement after reinforcement to it; we will try yet for the Spanish Plate Fleets; we will hurl yet bolt after bolt into the dark Domdaniel, and have no Peace with Spain. In all which, as I understand, the spirit of England, mindful of Armadas, and wedded once for all to blessed Gospel Light and Progress, and not to accursed Papal Jesuitry and Stagnancy, coöperates well with this Protector of the Commonwealth of England. Land-fighting too we shall by and by come upon; in all ways, a resolute prosecution of hostilities against Spain. Concerning the 'policy' of which, and real wisdom and unwisdom of which, no reader need consult the current Sceptical Red-tape Histories of that Period, for they are much misinformed on the matter.—

Here are Three Official Letters, or Draughts of Letters, concerning the business of Jamaica; which have come to us in a very obscure, unedited condition, Thomas Birch having been a little idle. Very obscure; and now likely to remain so, they and the others,—unless indeed Jamaica should produce a Poet of its own, pious towards the Hero-Founder of Jamaica, and

[1] In *Cromwelliana*, p. 134.

[2] Jan. 1655-6 (Thurloe, iv. 338).

courageous to venture into the Stygian Quagmires of *Thurloe* and the others, and vanquish them on his and its behalf!

Apparently these Official Letters are First-draughts, in the hand of Thurloe or some underling of his; dictated to him, as is like, by the Protector: they would afterwards be copied-fair, dated, and duly despatched; and only the rough originals, unhappily without date, are now left us. Birch has put them down without much criticism; the arrangement of some is palpably wrong. By the spelling and punctuation we judge them to be of Thurloe's handwriting; but the sense is clearly Oliver's, and probably, with some superficial polishings, the composition. They cannot, after much inquiry, be dated except approximately; the originals are gone with Birch, who has not even told us in whose handwriting they were, much less has tried to make any sense of them for himself, the idle ineffectual Editor! In fact, *Thurloe* in regard to these Jamaica businesses has had to go without editing; lies wide-spread, dislocated, dark; and, in this passage, read by Birch's light, is mere darkness visible. One of the Letters, we at length find, is even misaddressed,—seemingly by idle Birch, at random. Happily it is with the sense alone that we are much concerned; and that is in good part legible. Fancy Penn and Venables dismissed, after some light got out of them by cross-questioning; fancy 'Vice-Admiral Goodson, Major-General Fortescue, Daniel Serle Governor of Barbadoes, and Major-General Sedgwick' new from England, made Commissioners, with Instructions,[1] with full power over Jamaica, —and then read.

LETTER CCIV

VICE-ADMIRAL GOODSON, as his title indicates, went out as second under Penn; whose place he now fills as chief. Letters of his in *Thurloe* indicate a thick, blunt, stout-hearted sailor character, not nearly so stupid as he looks; whose rough

[1] Given in Thurloe, iv. 634.

piety, sense, stoicism, and general manfulness grow luminous to us at last. The Protector hopes 'the Lord may have blessed Goodson to have lighted upon some of the Enemy's vessels, and burnt them';—which is a hope fulfilled: for Goodson has already been at St. Martha on the Spanish Main, and burnt it; but got few 'ships,' nor any right load of plunder either; the people having had him in sight for six hours before landing, and run away with everything to the woods. He got 'thirty brass guns and two *bases*,' whatever these are. The rest of the plunder, being 'accurately sold at the mast of each ship' by public auction, yielded just 471*l.* sterling, which was a very poor return. At the Rio de Hacha ('Rio de hatch' as we here write it) 'the bay was so shoal' no great ships could get near; and our 'hoys' and small craft, on trying it, saw nothing feasible; wherefore we had drawn back again. Santa Martha, and plunder sold by auction to the amount above stated, was all we could get.[1]

TO VICE-ADMIRAL GOODSON, AT JAMAICA

Whitehall, "October 1655."

Sir,—I have written to Major-General Fortescue divers advertisements of our purpose and resolution, the Lord willing, to prosecute this Business; and you shall not want bodies of men nor yet anything in our power for the carrying-on of the work. I have also given divers hints unto him of things which may probably be attempted, and should[2] *be very diligently looked after by you both; but are left to your better judgments upon the place. Wherein I desire you would consult together how to prosecute your affairs with that brotherly kindness that upon no colour whatsoever any divisions or distractions should be amongst you, but that you may have one shoulder to the work; which will be very pleasing to the Lord; and not unnecessary, considering what an enemy you are like to have to deal withal.*

[1] Goodson's Letter, in *Thurloe*, iv. 159 et seqq.

[2] 'would' in orig.

We hope that you have with "you" some of those ships which came last, near Twenty men-of-war; which I desire you to keep equipt, and make yourselves as strong as you can to beat the Spaniard, who will doubtless send a good force into the Indies. I hope by this time the Lord may have blessed you to have light upon some of their vessels,—whether by burning them in their harbours or otherwise. And it will be worthy of you to improve your strength, what you can, both to weaken them by parcels, and to engage them as you have opportunity, —which, at such a distance I may probably guess, would be best "managed" by not suffering, if you can help it, the new Fleet, which comes from Spain, to go unfought, before they join with the ships that are to the Leeward of you.

We are sending to you, with all possible speed, Seven more stout men-of-war, some of them forty guns, and the rest not under thirty, for your assistance. This Ship goes before, with instructions, to encourage you to go on in the work; and also with instructions to Mevis, and the other Windward Islands, to bring so many of the Plantations as are free to come, "that they may settle with you at Jamaica." And I desire you, with your lesser merchant-ships or such others as you can spare, to give all possible assistance for their removal and transplantation, from time to time, as also all due encouragement to remove them.

You will see by the Enclosed what I have writ to Major-General Fortescue. And I hope your counsels will enter into that which may be for the glory of God and good of this Nation. It is not to be denied but the Lord hath greatly humbled us in that sad loss sustained at Hispaniola; and we doubt we have provoked the Lord; and it is good for us to know and to be abased for the same. But yet certainly His name is concerned in the work; and therefore though we should, and I hope do, lay our mouths in the dust, yet He would not have us despond, but I trust give us leave to make mention of His name and of His righteousness, when we cannot make mention of our own. You are left there; and I pray you set-

up your banners in the name of Christ; for undoubtedly it is His Cause. And let the reproach and shame that hath been for our sins, and through (also we may say) the misguidance of some, work-up your hearts to confidence in the Lord, and for the redemption of His honour from the hands of men who attribute their success to their Idols, the work of their own hands. And though He hath torn us, yet He will heal us; though He hath smitten us, yet He will bind us up; after two days He will revive us, in the third day He will raise us up, and we shall live in his sight.[1] *The Lord Himself hath a controversy with your Enemies; even with that Roman Babylon, of which the Spaniard is the great underpropper. In that respect we fight the Lord's battles;—and in this the Scriptures are most plain. The Lord therefore strengthen you with faith, and cleanse you from all evil: and doubt not but He is able, and I trust as willing, to give you as signal success as He gave your enemies against you. Only the Covenant-fear of the Lord be upon you.*[2]

If we send you not by this, I trust we shall by the next, our Declaration setting forth the justness of this War. I remain, your loving friend,

*OLIVER P.**

The *Declaration* here alluded to, of War with Spain, came out on Tuesday, 23d October 1655;[3] which with sufficient approximation dates this Letter for us. By obscure intimations, allusions to events, and even by recurrence of phrases, the following Letter seems to have the same or a closely subsequent date; but no sense could be made of it till the Address, 'Major-General Fortescue, at Jamaica' (which, being nonsense, we have to impute to Birch), was erased,—was altered, by dim lights[4] and guessings still a little uncertain, as below.

[1] Hosea vi. 1, 2.

[2] No other fear; nor is there need of any other hope or strength!

* Thurloe, iv. 130.

[3] *Ibid.* 117; Godwin, iv. 217; Antea, p. 229.

[4] Thurloe, iv. 633, etc. etc.

LETTER CCV

"TO DANIEL SERLE, ESQUIRE, GOVERNOR OF BARBADOES"

"Whitehall, October 1655."

Sir,—These are first to let you know that myself and the Government reckon ourselves beholden[1] *to you for the ready expressions of your love in giving assistance to our late Design.*[2] *Which indeed, though it hath miscarried in what we hoped for, through the disposing hand of God, for reasons best known to Himself, and as we may justly conceive for our sins,—yet is not this Cause the less His, but will be owned by Him, as I verily believe: and therefore we dare not relinquish it;*[3] *but shall, the Lord assisting, prosecute it with what strength we can, hoping for "a" blessing for His name's sake.*

You will receive some Instructions,[4] *with encouragements to remove your people thither. Whereto I refer you: only let me tell you, that if you shall think to desire some other things which are not mentioned in those Instructions, "you may" rest upon my word that we shall be most ready to supply what they may be defective in, or you may reasonably demand when once you are upon the place,—where certainly you may be better able to judge what may tend most to your accommodation than at a distance. Surely the sooner you remove thither,*[5] *you will have the more time to strengthen yourself, in such place and upon such part as you shall like of. And for your own part, I have named you one of the Commissioners there for manag-*

[1] 'beholding' in orig.; as the old phrase usually is.

[2] Hispaniola; to which Serle, at Barbadoes, had given due furtherance, as the Expedition passed.

[3] No!

[4] Thurloe, iv. 633-7; worth reading, though in great want of editing.

[5] Will mean, if our Addressing of this Letter is correct, that it had at one time been intended and decided to send Serle of Barbadoes, an experienced man, the ablest and principal English Governor in the West Indies, to take charge of Jamaica himself. Which however, in the quick succession of new lights and occurrences, never came to pass.

ing of the whole affair; whereby you will have your vote and interest in that Government.

Having said this, I think fit to let you know that we have Twenty men-of-war already there, and are sending Eight more, many whereof have forty guns and upwards, and the rest above thirty.[1] *We hope the Plantation is not wanting in anything; having at the least Seven-thousand fighting-men upon the place: and we are providing to supply them constantly with fresh men: and we trust they are furnished with a twelvemonth's victuals;—and I think, if we have it in England, they shall not want.*

We have also sent to the Colonies of New England like offers with yours,[2] *To remove thither; our resolution being to people and plant that Island. And indeed we have very good reason to expect considerable numbers from thence, forasmuch as the last winter was very destructive, and the summer hath proved so very sickly.*

I pray God direct you; and rest, your loving friend,

*"OLIVER P."**

Undoubtedly to 'Daniel Serle,' or else to 'Major-General Sedgwick,' the other of the Four new Commissioners, this Letter must have been addressed. With either of which Addresses it remains historically somewhat obscure; but is legible enough for our purposes with it here. The next seems to be of slightly later date.

LETTER CCVI

TO MAJOR-GENERAL FORTESCUE, AT JAMAICA

"Whitehall, November 1655."

Sir,—You will herewith receive Instructions for the better carrying-on of your business; which is not of small account

[1] Same phrase in the preceding Letter.

[2] Encouragements to them, as to 'your' Colony, to emigrate thither.

* Thurloe, iv. 130.

here, though our discouragements have been many; for which we desire to humble ourselves before the Lord, who hath very sorely chastened us. I do commend, in the midst of others' miscarriages, your constancy and faithfulness to your trust in every "situation"[1] *where you are, and "your" taking care of a "company of poor sheep left by their shepherd":*[2] *and be assured that, as that which you have done hath been good in itself, and becoming an honest man, so it hath a very good savour here with all good Christians and all true Englishmen, and will not be forgotten by me as opportunity shall serve.*

I hope you have long before this time received that good supply which went from hence in July last,[3] *whereby you will perceive that you have not been forgotten here. I hope also the ships sent for New England are, before this time, with you:*[4]*—and let me tell you, as an encouragement to you and those with you to improve the utmost diligence, and to excite your courage in this business, though not to occasion any negligence in prosecuting that affair, nor to give occasion to slacken any improvement of what the place may afford, That you will be followed with what necessary supplies, as well for comfortable subsistence as for your security against the Spaniard, this place may afford, or you want.*

And therefore study first your security by fortifying: and although you have not moneys, for the present, to do it in such quantities as were to be wished; yet, your case being as that of a marching army, wherein every soldier, out of principles of nature, and according to the practice of all discipline, ought to be at pains to secure the common quarter,—we hope no man amongst you will be so wanting to himself, considering food is provided for you, as not to be willing to help to the uttermost therein. And therefore I require you and all with you, for the safety of the whole, that this be made your most principal

[1] Word torn.

[2] Fortescue's own expression: in a Letter of 21st July 1655 (Thurloe, iii. 675).

[3] Vaughan, i. 303; Thurloe, iv. 4.

[4] Thurloe, iv. 157; one, the first of them, did arrive, Nov. 1st: 'sent from Jamaica to New England for provisions.'

intention. The doing of this will require that you be very careful not to scatter, till you have begun a security in some one place.—Next I desire you that you would consider how to form such a Body of good Horse as may, if the Spaniard should attempt upon you at his next coming into the Indies with his Galeons, be in a readiness to march to hinder his landing; who will hardly land upon a body of horse; and if he shall land, "you will" be in a posture to keep the provisions of the country from him, or him from the provisions, if he shall endeavour to march towards you.

We have sent Commissioners and Instructions into New England, to try what people may be drawn thence.[1] *We have done the like to the Windward English Islands; and both in England and Scotland and Ireland, you will have what men and women we can well transport.*

We think, and it is much designed amongst us, to strive with the Spaniard for the mastery of all those seas: and therefore we could heartily wish that the Island of Providence were in our hands again; believing that it lies so advantageously in reference to the Main, and especially for the hindrance of the Peru trade and Carthagena, that you would not only have great advantage thereby of intelligence and surprisal, but "might" even block-up Carthagena.[2] *It is discoursed here that, if the Spaniard do attempt upon you, it is most likely it will be upon the East end of the Island, towards Cuba; as also "that" Cuba, in its chief Town, is a place*[3] *easily attempted, and hath in it a very rich copper-mine. It would be good, for the first, as you have opportunity, to inform yourself; and if there be need, to make a good work upon the East end of your Island, to prevent them. And for the other, and all things of that kind, we must leave them to your judgment upon the place, to do therein as you shall see cause.*

[1] Long Correspondences about it, and details, from assiduous Mr. Gookin, chief of those Commissioners, in *Thurloe*, iv.

[2] 'the same' in orig.

[3] The first 'Cuba' here is the old capital of the Eastern Department, now called *Santiago de Cuba*, where there are still copper-mines.

To conclude: As we have cause to be humbled for the reproof God gave us at St. Domingo, upon the account of our own sins as well as others', so, truly, upon the reports brought hither to us of the extreme avarice, pride and confidence, disorders and debauchedness, profaneness and wickedness, commonly practised amongst the Army, we can not only bewail the same, but desire that all with you may do so; and that a very special regard may be had so to govern, for time to come, as that all manner of vice may be thoroughly discountenanced, and severely punished; and that such a frame of government may be exercised that virtue and godliness may receive due encouragement. "*I rest, your loving friend,*

OLIVER P."*

The brave Fortescue never received this Letter; he already lay in his grave when it was written; had died in October last,[1] a speedy victim of the bad climate and desperate situation. Brave Sedgwick, his Partner and Successor, soon died also:[2] a very brave, zealous and pious man, whose Letters in *Thurloe* are of all others the best worth reading on this subject. Other brave men followed, and soon died; spending heroically their remnant of life-fire there,—as heroes do, 'making paths through the impassable.' But we must leave the heroisms of Oliver Protector and his Puritans, in this Jamaica Business, to the reader's fancy henceforth,—till perhaps some Jamaica *Poet* rise to resuscitate and extricate them. Reinforcement went on the back of reinforcement, during this Protector's lifetime: 'a Thousand Irish Girls' went; not to speak of the rogue-and-vagabond species from Scotland,—'we can help you' at any time 'to two or three hundred of these.'[3] And so at length a West-India Interest did take root; and bears spices and poisons, and other produce, to this day.

* Thurloe, iv. 633.

[1] *Ibid.* iv. 153.

[2] 24th June 1656 (Long's *History of Jamaica*, i. 257).

[3] Long, i. 244; Thurloe, iv. 692-5:—new Admonitions and Instructions from the Protector, of Thurloe's writing, 17th June 1656 (Thurloe, v. 129-131); etc.

LETTERS CCVII—CCXIV

TAKE the following Letters in mass; and make some dim History of Eleven Months from them, as best may be.

LETTER CCVII

HENRY CROMWELL has no Major-Generals in Ireland, but has his anarchies there also to deal with. Let him listen to this good advice on the subject.

FOR MY SON HENRY CROMWELL, AT DUBLIN, IRELAND

"Whitehall," 21st November 1655.

Son,—I have seen your Letter writ unto Mr. Secretary Thurloe; and do find thereby that you are very apprehensive of the carriage of some persons with you, towards yourself and the public affairs.

I do believe there may be some particular persons who are not very well pleased with the present condition of things, and may be apt to show their discontent as they have opportunity: but this should not make too great impressions in you. Time and patience may work them to a better frame of spirit, and bring them to see that which, for the present, seems to be hid from them; especially if they shall see your moderation and love towards them, if they are found in other ways towards you. Which I earnestly desire you to study and endeavour, all that lies in you. Whereof both you and I too shall have the comfort, whatsoever the issue and event thereof be.

For what you write of more help, I have long endeavoured it; and shall not be wanting to send you some farther addition to the Council, so soon as men can be found out who are fit for the trust. I am also thinking of sending over to you a fit person who may command the North of Ireland; which I believe stands in great need of one; and "I" am of your opinion that Trevor and Colonel Mervin are very dangerous persons, and

may be made the heads of a new rebellion. And therefore I would have you move the Council that they be secured in some very safe place, and the farther out of their own countries the better.

I commend you to the Lord; and rest, your affectionate father,

*OLIVER P.**

'The Letter writ unto Mr. Secretary Thurloe,' which is responded to in this wise and magnanimous manner does not appear in *Thurloe* or elsewhere. November 14th, a week before the date of this, Henry writing to Thurloe excuses his present brevity, his last Letter having been so very copious that copious Letter, now lost, is probably the one in question here.

'*November 22nd*,' the day after this Letter, 'came several accounts from the Major-Generals out of divers Counties. Out of Norfolk it was certified that Cleveland the Poet and one Sherland a wild Parson were apprehended' at Norwich 'by Colonel Haynes,'[1] the Lord Fleetwood's Substitute in those regions. This is John Cleveland the famous Cantab. Scholar, Royalist Judge-Advocate, and thrice-illustrious Satirist and son of the Muses: who 'had gone through eleven editions' in those times, far transcending all Miltons and all mortals, —and does not now need any twelfth edition, that we hear of. Still recognisable for a man of lively parts, and brilliant petulant character; directed, alas, almost wholly to the *worship of clothes*,—which is by nature a transient one! His good fortune quitted him, I think, nine years ago, when David Lesley took him prisoner in Newark. A stinging satire against the Scots had led Cleveland to expect at least martyrdom on this occasion; but Lesley merely said, 'Let the poor knave go and sell his ballads';[2] and dismissed him,

* Thurloe, i. 726.

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 154); Thurloe, iv. 185.

[2] *Biog. Britan.* (2nd edit.), iii. 531:—very ignorantly told there.

—towards thin diet, and a darkness which has been deepening ever since. Very low now at Norwich, where he is picked-up by Colonel Haynes: 'Thirty pounds a year'; 'lives with a gentleman to whom he is giving some instruction';—unfortunate son of the Muses. He indites a highflown magnanimous epistle to Cromwell, on this new misfortune; who likewise magnanimously dismisses him,[1] to 'sell his ballads' at what little they will bring.

Wednesday, December 12th, 1655. This day, 'in a withdrawing-room at Whitehall,' presided over by his Highness, who is much interested in the matter, was held 'a Conference concerning the Jews';[2] of which the modern reader too may have heard something. Conference, one of Four Conferences, publicly held, which filled all England with rumour in those old December days; but must now contract themselves into a point for us. Highest official Persons, with Lord Chief Barons, Lord Chief Justices, and chosen Clergy have met here to advise, by reason, Law-learning, Scripture-prophecy, and every source of light for the human mind, concerning the proposal of admitting Jews, with certain privileges as of alien-citizens, to reside in England. They were banished near Four-hundred years ago: shall they now be allowed to reside and trade again? The Proposer is 'Manasseh Ben Israel,' a learned Portuguese Jew of Amsterdam; who, being stirred-up of late years by the great things doing in England, has petitioned one and the other, Long Parliament and Little Parliament, for this object; but could never, till his Highness came into power, get the matter brought to a hearing. And so they debate and solemnly consider; and his Highness spake;—and says one witness, 'I never heard a man speak so well.'[3] His Highness was eager for the scheme, if so might be. But the Scripture-prophecies, Law-learnings, and lights

[1] Life of Cleveland, prefixed to his *Poems*.

[2] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 154).

[3] Sir Paul Rycaut (in Spence's *Anecdotes*, p. 77;—as cited by Godwin, iv. 299).

of the human mind seemed to point another way; zealous Manasseh went home again; the Jews could not settle here except by private sufferance of his Highness;—and the matter contracts itself into a point for us.[1]

This same Jew-Wednesday, Wednesday the 12th, as a laborious unimportant computation shows, was the 'evening' when Republican Ludlow had the first interview with his Highness and certain of his Council 'in the Protector's bed-chamber.'[2] Solid Ludlow has been in Ireland; dreadfully sulky ever since this Protectorate began. Solid Ludlow never would acknowledge any Single Person, never he; not though the Single Person 'were his own father.' He has nevertheless, by certain written 'engagements,' contrived to get across from Ireland, with much trouble by the road; but will not now give any promise satisfactory to his Highness. 'He will be peaceable; yes, so long as he sees no chance otherwise: but if he see a chance—!—Should like, notwithstanding, to breathe a little air in his own country; that is all he is wanting for the present!' In fact, our solid friend is firm as brass, or oak-timber; altogether obstinate indeed, not to say dogged and mulish. The Protector, who has a respect for the solid man, and whose course is conciliation in such cases, permits him to reside in Essex; keeping his eye upon him.

We might speak also of the famed 'Committee of Trade,' which has now begun its sessions 'in the Old House of Lords.' An Assemblage of Dignitaries, Chief Merchants, Political Economists, convened by summons of his Highness;[3] consulting zealously how the Trade of this country may be improved. A great concernment of the Commonwealth, 'which his Highness is eagerly set upon.' They consulted of 'Swedish Copperas,' and suchlike; doing faithfully what they could.

[1] Godwin, iv. 243-9.—To 'Manasseth Ben Israel, a pension of 100*l.* per annum, payable quarterly, and commencing 20th February 1656' (1657): Privy-Seals of Oliver; in Fifth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (London, 1844), Appendix ii. p. 263.

[2] Ludlow, ii. 551 et seqq.

[3] Whitlocke, p. 618 (2nd Nov. 1655).

Of these things we might speak; but prefer to end the year by this small interesting fraction of Domestic Gossip, coming to us in a small flute-voice across the loud Disturbances, which are fallen silent now, more silent now than even it! Sorry only that nobody can inform us who this blameworthy 'person' in the Lord Henry Cromwell's house is, or what her misdoings are: but the reader, skilled in perennial human nature, can sufficiently supply these, and listen to the ancient small flute-voice with intelligence:

THE LADY MARY CROMWELL TO HENRY CROMWELL, MAJOR-GENERAL OF THE ARMY IN IRELAND

'"Hampton-Court," 7th December 1655.

'Dear Brother,—I cannot be any longer without begging an excuse for my so long silence. You cannot but hear of my Sister's illness; which indeed has been the only cause of it. You might justly take it ill otherwise, and think there were want of that affection I owe unto you.

'Indeed, dear Brother, it was a great deal of trouble to me to think I should give you any occasion to think amiss of me: for I can truly say it, you are very dear to me; and it is a great trouble to me to think of the distance we are from one another; and would be more, if I did not think you are doing the Lord's service;—and truly that ought to satisfy us; for while we are here, we cannot expect but that we must be separated. Dear Brother, the Lord direct you in his ways, and keep your heart close unto Himself. And I am sure, therein you will have true comfort; and that will last when all this world shall pass away.

'I cannot but give you some item of One that is with you, who, "it" is so much feared by your friends that love you, is some dishonour to you and my dear Sister, if you have not a great care. For it is reported here, that she rules much in your Family; and truly it is feared that she is a discountenancer of the Godly People. Therefore, dear Brother, take it

not ill, that I give you an item of her: for, truly, if I did not love both you and your honour, I would not give you notice of her. Therefore I hope you will not take it ill, that I have dealt thus plainly with you. I suppose you know who it is I mean, therefore I desire to be excused for not naming her. I desire not to be seen in it; and therefore desire you that you would not take the least notice of my writing to you about it: because I was desired not to speak of it; nor should I, but that I know you will not take it amiss from your poor Sister who loves you.

'Dear Brother, I take leave to rest—your sister and servant, MARY CROMWELL.

'Her Highness[1] desires to have her love to you and my Sister; and my Sister Franke her respects to you both.'[2]

'My Sister Franke' and the Lady Mary, these are my 'two little wenches,' grown now to be women; with dress-caps, fresh blossoming hearts, musical glib tongues,—not uninteresting to men! Anthony Ashley Cooper, I am told, is looking towards this Lady Mary; now turned of Eighteen,[3] and a desirable match for any youth of ambition,—but not attainable, I doubt, by Ashley.

LETTER CCVIII

HE that builds by the wayside has many masters! Henry Cromwell, we perceive by all symptoms,[4] has no holiday task of it; needs energy, vigilance, intelligence,—needs almost unlimited patience first of all. With a hot proud temper of his own to strive against, too; and is not nine-and-twenty yet: a young man whose carriage hitherto merits high praise. Anabaptist Colonels 'preach' against him; Fleetwood, at

[1] 'our Mother.' [2] Thurloe, iv. 293. [3] Vol. i. p. 71.

[4] See his Letters to Thurloe: *Thurloe*, iv. 254-608 (Letters from Nov. 1655 to April 1656).

head-quarters, has perhaps a tendency to favour Anabaptist Colonels, and send them over hither to us? Colonel Hewson, here in Ireland, he, with a leaning that way, has had correspondences, has even had an 'Answer' from the Lord Protector (now lost), whereupon have risen petitionings, colloquies, caballings,—much loud unreason to absorb into oneself, and convert at least into silence! 'Be not troubled with that Business; we understand the men': no;—and on the whole, read, and be encouraged, and go on your way.

FOR MY SON HARRY CROMWELL

"Whitehall," 21st April 1656.

Harry,—I have received your Letters, and have also seen some from you to others; and am sufficiently satisfied of your burden, and that if the Lord be not with you, to enable you to bear it, you are in a very sad condition.

I am glad to hear what I have heard of your carriage: study still to be innocent; and to answer every occasion, roll yourself upon God,—which to do needs much grace. Cry to the Lord to give you a plain single heart. Take heed of being over-jealous, lest your apprehensions of others cause you to offend. Know that uprightness will preserve you; in this be confident against men.

I think the Anabaptists are to blame in not being pleased with you. That's their fault! It will not reach you, *whilst you with singleness of heart make the glory of the Lord your aim. Take heed of professing religion without the power: that will teach you to love all who are after the similitude of Christ. Take care of making it a business to be too hard for the men who contest with you. Being over-concerned may train you into a snare.—I have to do with those poor men; and am not without my exercise. I know they are weak; because they are so peremptory in judging others. I quarrel not with them but in their seeking to supplant others; which is*

done by some, first by branding them with antichristianism, and then taking away their maintenance.

Be not troubled with the late Business: we understand the men. Do not fear the sending of any over to you but such as will be considering men, loving all godly interests, and men "that" will be friends to justice.—Lastly, take heed of studying to lay for yourself the foundation of a great estate. It will be a snare to you: they will watch you; bad men will be confirmed in covetousness. The thing is an evil which God abhors. I pray you think of me in this.

If the Lord did not sustain me, I were undone: but I live, and I shall live, to the good pleasure of His grace; I find mercy at need. The God of all grace keep you. I rest, your loving father,

OLIVER P.

*My love to my dear Daughter (whom I frequently pray for) and to all friends.**

Such a Letter, like a staff dipped in honeycomb and brought to one's lips, is enough to enlighten the eyes of a wearied Sub-Deputy; and cheer him, a little, on his way! To prove that you can conquer every opponent, to found a great estate: not these, or the like of these, be your aims, Son Harry. 'I pray you think of me in this.' And, on the whole, heed not the foolish noises, the fatuous lights; heed the eternal Loadstars and celestial Silences,—and vigilantly march: so shall you too perhaps 'find mercy at need.'

LETTER CCIX

NEW Sea-Armaments, and ever new, are fitted out against the Spaniards and their Papist Domdaniel. Penn being dismissed, Councillor Colonel Montague, already in the Admiralty, was made Sea-General last January in his stead; and now

* Autograph in the possession of Sir W. Betham (Ulster King of Arms), Dublin.

Blake and he have their flags flying somewhere off Cadiz Bay, it would appear.

TO GENERALS BLAKE AND MONTAGUE, AT SEA

Whitehall, 28th April 1656.

My loving Friends,—You have, as I verily believe and am persuaded, a plentiful stock of prayers going "on" for you daily, sent up by the soberest and most approved Ministers and Christians in this Nation; and, notwithstanding some discouragements, very much wrestling of faith for you: which is to us, and I trust will be to you, matter of great encouragement. But notwithstanding all this, it will be good for you and us to deliver up ourselves and all our affairs to the disposition of our All-wise Father; who, not only out of prerogative, but because of His wisdom, goodness and truth, ought to be resigned-unto by His creatures, and most especially by those who are children of His begetting through the Spirit. We have been lately taught[1] *that it is not in man to direct his way. Indeed all the dispensations of God, whether adverse or prosperous, do fully read that lesson. We can no more turn away the Evil, as we call it, than attain the Good: And therefore Solomon's counsel, of doing what we have to do with all our might, "and" getting our hearts wholly submitted, if not to rejoicing, at least to contentation with whatsoever shall be dispensed by Him to whom alone the issues of all things do belong, is worthy to be received by us.*[2]

Wherefore we have thought fit to send this honest man, Captain Lloyd, who is known to us to be a person of integrity, to convey to you some thoughts,—wherein we do only offer to you such things as do arise to us, partly upon intelligence, and partly upon such a measure as we at such a distance take of that great affair wherein you are engaged; desiring to give

[1] In the affair of Hispaniola, etc.

[2] Yes, I should say so;—as indeed the whole Universe, since it first had any glimmerings of intelligence in it, has said!

no rule to you; but building, under God, much more upon your judgments on the place than "upon" our own; forasmuch as our intelligences, coming much upon the examination of Merchants' ships and such ways, may not be true oftentimes in matter of fact. And therefore we do offer what we have to say rather as queries than "as" resolutions.

We are informed that not many of the Plate Fleet are come home; viz. two Galeons and two Pataches;[1] *and we hear they are not so rich as they gave out. We are informed also that the Spaniards' Fleet in Cadiz is in no preparation to come out; and some think they will not come forth, but delay you upon the coast, until your victuals are spent, and you forced to come home. We apprehend that, when General Blake was there last year, they could not have told how to have manned-out a Fleet, if the Merchants there and gentlemen interested had not (principally for their own interest in the return of the "Plate" Fleet) done it.*

We are informed that they sent what men they could well spare, by those Six or Seven ships which they sent to the West Indies in March last. We know also that it hath ever been accounted that the Spaniards' great want is men,—as well as money at this time. What numbers are in and about Cadiz you best know. We only discourse probabilities: Whether now it might not be worthy to be weighed by you and your council of war, whether this Fleet of theirs now in Cadiz might not be burnt or otherwise destroyed? Whether Puntal and the Forts are so considerably stronger as to discourage from such an attempt? Whether Cadiz itself be unattemptable; or the Island on which it stands be noways to be separated from relieving the Town by the Bridge,[2] *the Island being so narrow in some parts of it? Whether any other place be attemptable; especially that of the Town and Castle of Gibraltar,—which if*

[1] *Galeone*, in the Spanish Dictionary, is defined as an 'Armed ship of burden used for trade in time of war'; *Patache*, as 'a Tender, or smaller ship to wait upon the *Galeone*.'

[2] Means 'noways to be separated from the Mainland, by ruining its Bridge': Cadiz were thus in reality *isolated*.

possessed and made tenable by us,[1] *would it not be both an advantage to our trade and an annoyance to the Spaniard; and enable us, without keeping so great a fleet on that coast, with six nimble frigates lodged there to do the Spaniard more harm than by a fleet, and ease our own charge?*

You may discourse freely with the Bearer concerning anything contained in this Letter, to whom the whole was communicated, that so he might be able to bring back to us a more particular account of things. The Lord guide you to do that which may be pleasing in His sight. I remain, your very loving friend,

*OLIVER P.**

LETTER CCX

CADIZ could not be attempted. Here, eight days later, is another message to the same parties, concerning another business. 'The Portugal,' it appears, has been behaving in a very paltry fashion; and now 'Mr. Meadows,' one of Thurloe's Under-Secretaries, is gone out to him; whose remonstrances, the Fleet lending them its emphasis, will probably be effectual!

TO GENERALS BLAKE AND MONTAGUE, AT SEA

Whitehall, 6th May 1656.

Gentlemen,—You will perceive, by the Instructions[2] *herewith sent you, what is expected by the Council and myself at your hands. And although we are satisfied that you will believe we have sufficient grounds to give you these Directions, yet we have thought fit, for the farther strengthening you unto this Action, to give you a short knowledge of the true state of the Difference between us and the King of Portugal.*

You very well know that it is very near two years since we and the Ambassador of Portugal did agree a Treaty; they

[1] Hear, hear!

* Thurloe, iv. 744.

[2] Thurloe, iv. 769: brief 'instructions,' To seize the Portugal's ships, fleets, almost the Portugal's self, if he will not do justice.

having wronged us and our Merchants, and taken part with the late King against us. When the Articles were fully agreed by the Ambassador, who had full power and authority to conclude with us, we on our part ratified and confirmed the same, and sent it to the King of Portugal to be ratified and executed by him also. He, delaying to do it according to the first Agreement, in which there were some preliminaries to be performed by him before we could enter upon the whole body of a Treaty,—not only refused to give us satisfaction therein, but instead thereof sent us a pretended Ratification of a Treaty, so different from what was agreed by his Ambassador that it was quite another thing. In "regard to" some essential Articles, it was proposed that if we would condescend to some amendments, the King of Portugal would "then" agree to confirm the whole.

Whereupon we sent Mr. Maynard to have the Treaty consummated: but finding by the answer he gave us,[1] *that there was little reality, and nothing but delays intended, we could not satisfy ourselves without sending another Person, fully instructed, and authorised by us to take away all scruples by yielding to their own amendments; thereby to discern whether they were sincere*[2] *or not. But, contrary to all expectation, we find, by the account the said Person hath given us, that we are put upon it to recede from all those things that were provisional, either for the good of the State or of our Merchants, or else we must have no Peace with them.*[3]

In one of the Articles agreed with the Ambassador, it was expressed, That the Merchants should enjoy liberty of conscience, in the worship of God in their own houses and aboard their ships; enjoying also the use of English Bibles, and other good books; taking care that they did not exceed this liberty. Now, upon the sending of Mr. Meadows,—unless we will agree to submit this Article to the determination of the Pope, we cannot have it: whereby he would bring us to an owning of the Pope; which, we hope, whatever befall us, we shall not, by the grace

[1] 'by his return' in orig. [2] 'real' in orig. [3] Let them have a care!

of God, be brought unto.[1] *And upon the same issue is that Article put whereby it is provided and agreed by his Ambassador, That any ships coming to that harbour, any of their company that shall run away from the said ships shall be brought back again by the Magistrate; and the Commanders of the said ships "shall" not "be" required to pay the said runaways their wages, upon pretence "that" they are turned Catholics,—which may be a colour for any knave to leave his duty, or for the Roman Catholics to seduce our men. This we thought necessary to be provided against. Yet to this also, as I said before, they would not consent without the approbation of the Pope, although it was agreed by their Ambassador too.*

Upon the whole matter, we find them very false to us, who intended nothing but what was simply honest. And truly we cannot believe that Article that was for our good was "ever" really intended by them. And we may now plainly see what the effect is like to be of any Treaty had or made with people or states guided by such principles, who, when they have agreed, have such an evasion as these people have manifestly held forth in their dealing with us. Wherefore we pray you to be very exact in your prosecution of your Instructions; which truly I hope do not arise from the hope of gain, but from a sense of duty. For, seeing we cannot secure our People in their lives, liberties and estates by a Pretence of a Treaty; nor yet answer the just demands this Nation hath for wrongs done them; but must in some sort be guilty of bringing our People as it were into a net, by such specious shows which have nothing but falseness and rottenness in them;—we are necessitated, having amongst ourselves found out no possible expedient, though we have industriously sought it, to salve these things; we, out of necessity "I say," and not out of choice, have concluded to go in this way.

You will receive herewith the Copy of an Instruction given and sent to Mr. Meadows, wherein is a time limited for the

[1] No!

King's answer. and we desire that this may not be made use of by the King to delay or deceive us: nor that you, upon the first sight hereof, delay to take the best course you can to effect your Instructions,—or that the Portugal should get his Fleet home before you get between him and home, and so the birds be flown.

We know not what your affairs are at the present; but are confident that nothing will be wanting on your part for the effectual accomplishment of this Service. But knowing that all ways, and works, and ourselves, are ever at the perfect disposition of the Lord and His providence, and that our times are in His hands,—we therefore recommend you to the grace and guidance of our good God, who, we hope, hath thoughts of mercy towards us: and that He would guide and bless you is the prayer of, your very loving friend, "OLIVER P"*

In Thurloe's handwriting; but very evidently Oliver's composition every sentence of it. There will clearly be no living for the Portugal, unless he decide to throw away his jockeyings and jesuitries, and do what is fair and square!

LETTER CCXI

A SMALL vestige, it is presumable, of this Protector's solicitude for the encouragement of Learning and Learned Men. Which is a feature of his character very conceivable to us, and well demonstrated otherwise by testimony of facts and persons. Such we shall presume the purport of this small Civic Message to be:

FOR OUR WORTHY FRIENDS THE COMMITTEE OF THE CITY OF LONDON FOR GRESHAM COLLEGE: THESE

Whitehall, 9th May 1656.

Gentlemen,—We understanding that you have appointed an election this afternoon of a Geometry Professor in Gresham

* Thurloe, iv. 768.

College,—We desire you to suspend the same for some time, till We shall have an opportunity to speak with some of you in order to that business. I rest, your loving friend,

*OLIVER P.**

Historical Neal says zealously, 'If there was a man in England who excelled in any faculty or science, the Protector would find him out, and reward him according to his merit.' The renowned Dr. Cudworth in Cambridge, I have likewise expressly read, had commission to mark among the ingenuous youth of that University such as he deemed apt for Public Employment, and to make the Protector aware of them. Which high and indeed sacred function we find the Doctor, as occasion offers, intent to discharge.[1] The choice this Protector made of men,—'in nothing was his good understanding better discovered'; 'which gave a general satisfaction to the Public,' say the Histories.[2] As we can very well believe! He who is himself a true man, has a chance to know the truth of men when he sees them; he who is not, has none: and as for the poor Public and its satisfactions,—alas, is not the kind of 'man' you set upon it the liveliest symbol of its, and your, veracity and victory and blessedness, or unveracity and misery and cursedness; the general summation, and practical outcome, of all else whatsoever in the Public, and in you?

LETTER CCXII

ANOTHER small Note still extant; relating to very small, altogether domestic matters.

"FOR MY LOVING SON RICHARD CROMWELL, ESQUIRE, AT HURSLEY: THESE"

"Whitehall," 29th May 1656.

Son,—You know there hath often been a desire to sell

* Original, with Oliver's Signature, now (1846) in the Guildhall Library, London.

[1] Thurloe, iii. 614; v. 522; etc.

[2] Burnet, in Neal, ii. 514; *ib.* ii. 461, 494.

Newhall, because in these four years last past it hath yielded very little or no profit at all, nor did I ever hear you ever liked it for a Seat.

It seems there may be a chapman had, who will give 18,000*l.* *It shall either be laid out where you shall desire; at Mr. Wallop's, or elsewhere, and the money put into feoffees' hands in trust to be so disposed: or I shall settle Burleigh; which yields near* 1,300*l.*[1] per annum, *besides the woods. Waterhouse will give you farther information. I rest, your loving father,* OLIVER P.

My love to your Father and Mother,[2] *and your dear Wife.**

Newhall is the House and Estate in Essex which had once belonged to the great Duke of Buckingham. Burleigh I guess to be Burleigh on the Hill, near Oakham, another House of the great Duke's, which Oliver in the beginning of his military services had known well: he took it by assault in 1643. Of Oliver's Lands, or even of his Public Lands granted by the Parliament, much more of the successive phases his Estate assumed by new purchase and exchange, there is, as we once observed already, no exact knowledge now anywhere to be had. Obscure incidental notices flit through the Commons Journals and other Records; but the sum of the matter alike with the details of it are sunk in antique Law-Parchments, in obliterated Committee-Papers, far beyond human sounding. Of the Lands he *died* possessed of, there is a List extant, more or less accurate; which is worth looking at here. On quitting the Protectorship in 1659, Richard Cromwell, with the hope of having his debts paid and some fixed revenue allowed him, gave-in a Schedule of his Liabilities and of his Properties, the latter all in Land; which Schedule poor Noble has found *somewhere*,[3] and copied,

[1] Written above is '1260*l.*'

[2] Mr. and Mrs. Mayor of Hursley.

* Original in the possession of Henry William Field, Esq., of the Royal Mint.

[3] *Not* where he says he did, 'in *Commons Journals*, 14th May 1659' (Noble, i. 333-4).

probably with blunders. Subjoined is his List of the Properties, some of them misspelt, most likely; the exact localities of which, no indication being given or sought by Noble, may be a problem for persons learned in such matters.[1] To us, only Burleigh and Newhall are of importance here.

Newhall, we can observe, was not sold on the occasion of this Letter, nor at all sold; for it still stands in the List of 1659; and with some indication, too, as to what the cause of now trying to sell it may have been. 'For a Portion to

[1] REAL ESTATE IN 1659.

Dalby, *Broughton*, Gower	settled on my Brother Henry Cromwell upon marriage: worth a-year	£989	9 1
		533	8 8
		479	0 0
Newhall with woods, settled for security of 15,000*l.*, for a Portion for my Sister Frances		1200	0 0
Chepstall		549	7 3
Magore		448	0 0
Tydenham		3121	9 6
Woolaston		664	16 6
Chaulton with woods		500	0 0
Burleigh		1236	12 8
Okham		326	14 11
Egleton		79	11 6

These are all the Lands at this date in the possession of the Oliver Family. The five names printed here in italics are still recognisable: Villiers (Duke of Buckingham) Properties all of these; the first two in Leicestershire, the last three contiguous to one another in Rutlandshire: of the others I at present (A.D. 1845) know nothing. As to poor Richard's finance-budget, encumbered 'with a 2,000*l.* yearly to my Mother,' 'with 3000*l.* of debt contracted in my Father's lifetime,' and plentifully otherwise,—it shall not concern us farther.

(*Note of* 1857.) The other Properties have now also been discovered: Lands, these, of the confiscated Marquis of Worcester; all of them in the South-Wales or Ragland quarter. 'Gower' is in Glamorgan, not far from Swansea; 'Chepstall' is *Chepstow*: 'Tydenham,' *Tidenham*, in the same neighbourhood; 'Woolaston' is in Gloucestershire, four miles from Chepstow; 'Chaulton,' one of the *Charltons* in the same county; 'Magore,' *Magor* (St. Mary's) in Monmouthshire. For *Gower*, *Tidenham*, *Magor*, and their connexion with Cromwell, there is still direct proof; for the others, which are all Ragland manors too, there is thus presumption to the verge of proof. So that all these Properties, in Richard's Schedule, are either Buckingham or else Worcester ones,—grants by the Nation;—and of 'my ould land' (now settled otherwise, or indeed not concerned in this question) there is no mention here. (Newspaper called *Notes and Queries*, Nos. 21-28; London, 23d March-11th May 1850.)

my Sister Frances,' namely. Noble's citations from Morant's *History of Essex*; his and Morant's blunderings and somnambulancies, in regard to this matter of Newhall, seem almost to approach the sublime.[1]

Leaving these, let us attend a little to the 'Portion for my Sister Frances'; concerning which and whom a few lines of musical domestic gossip, interesting to the mind, are once more audible, from the same flute-voice above listened to. 'Mr. Rich,' we should premise, is the Lord Rich's Son, the Earl of Warwick's Grandson; heir-apparent, though he did not live to be heir:—pious old Earl of Warwick, whom we have seen heretofore as Admiral in the Long-Parliament time; the poor Earl of Holland's Brother. Here are affairs of the heart, romances of reality, such as have to go on in all times, under all dialects and fashions of dress-caps, Puritan-Protectoral and other.

THE LADY MARY CROMWELL TO HENRY CROMWELL, MAJOR-GENERAL OF THE FORCES IN IRELAND

'"Hampton Court," 23d June 1656.

'DEAR BROTHER,—Your kind Letters do so much engage my heart towards you, that I can never tell how to express in writing the true affection and value I have for you,—who, truly I think, none that knows you but you may justly claim it from.[2]

'I must confess myself in a great fault in omitting to write to you and your dear Wife so long a time. But I suppose you cannot be ignorant of the reason, which truly has been the only cause; which is the business of my Sister Frances and Mr. Rich. Truly I can truly say it, for these three months I think our Family, and myself in particular, have been in the greatest confusion and trouble as ever poor Family can be in. The Lord tell us His "mind"[3]

[1] Noble, i. 334-5. [2] Young-Lady's grammar! [3] Word torn out.

in it; and settle us, and make us what He would have us to be! I suppose you heard of the breaking-off of the business; and, according to your desire in your last Letter, as well as I can, I shall give you a full account of it. Which is this:

'After a quarter of a year's admittance, my Father and my Lord Warwick began to treat about the Estate; and it seems my Lord did not offer that which my Father expected. I need not name particulars: for I suppose you have had them from better hands: but if I may say the truth, I think it was not so much estate, as from private reasons which my Father discovered to none but to my Sister Frances and his own Family;—which was a dislike to the young person. Which he had from some reports of his being a vicious man, given to play and suchlike things; which office was done by some who had a mind to break-off the match. My Sister, hearing these things, was resolved to know the truth of it;[1] and truly did find all the reports to be false that were recited of him. And to tell you the truth, they were so much engaged in affection before this, that she could not think of breaking it off. So that my Sister engaged me and all the friends she had, who truly were very few, to speak in her behalf to my Father. Which we did; but could not be heard to any purpose: only this my Father promised, That if he were satisfied as to the report, the estate should not break it off. With which she was satisfied.

'And so after this, there was a second Treaty; and my Lord Warwick desired my Father, To name what it was he demanded more; and to his utmost he would satisfy him. So my Father upon this made new propositions; which my Lord Warwick has answered as much as he can. But it seems there are Five-hundred pounds a year in my Lord Rich's hands; which he has power to sell: and there are some people, who persuade his Highness, that it would be dishonourable for him to conclude it unless these 500*l.* a

[1] Poor little Frances!

year be settled upon Mr. Rich, after his father's death. And my Lord Rich having no esteem at all of his son, because he is not so bad as himself, will not agree to it; and these people upon this persuade my Father, That it would be a dishonour to him to yield upon these terms; it would show, that he was made a fool of by my Lord Rich. So the truth is, how it shall be, I cannot understand, nor very few else;[1] and truly I must tell you privately, they are so far engaged, that the match cannot be broke off! She acquainted none of her friends with her resolution, when she did it.

'Dear Brother, this is, as far as I can tell, the state of the business. The Lord direct them what to do. And all, I think, ought to beg of God to pardon her in her doing of this thing;—which I must say truly she was put upon by the "course"[2] of things. Dear, let me beg my excuses to my Sister for not writing. My best respects to her. Pardon this trouble; and believe me that I shall ever strive to approve myself,—dear Brother, your affectionate sister and servant,

'MARY CROMWELL.'[3]

Poor little Fanny Cromwell was not yet much turned of Seventeen, when she had these complex things to do, with her friends, 'who truly were very few.' What 'people' they were that put, or strove to put, such notions into his Highness's head, with intent to frustrate the decidedly eligible Mr. Rich, none knows. I could suspect Ashley Cooper, or some such hand, if his date of favour still lasted. But it is gone, long months ago. Ashley is himself frustrated; cannot obtain this musical glib-tongued Lady Mary, says Ludlow;[4] goes

[1] Good little Mary! [2] Torn out. [3] Thurloe, v. 146.

[4] Here is the passage, not hitherto printed; one of several 'Suppressed passages from *Ludlow's Memoirs*,' which still exist in the handwriting of John Locke (now in the possession of Lord Lovelace), having been duly copied out by Locke for his own poor *Life* of the Earl of Shaftesbury, to whom they all relate:

'Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who was first for the King, then for the Parliament; then, in Cromwell's first Assembly,' the Little Parliament, was 'for

over to opposition in consequence; is dismissed from his Highness's Council of State; and has to climb in this world by another ladder.—Poor Fanny's marriage did nevertheless take effect. Both Mary and she were duly wedded, Fanny to Rich, Mary to Lord Fauconberg, in November next year, within about a week of each other:[1] our friends, 'who truly were very few,' and our destinies, and our own lively wits, brought all right in the end.

LETTER CCXIII

IT was last Spring Assizes, as we saw, that the 'great appearances of country gentlemen and persons of the highest quality' took place; leading to the inference generally that this Protectorate Government is found worth acknowledging by England. Certainly a somewhat successful Government hitherto; in spite of difficulties great and many. It carries eternal Gospel in the one hand, temporal drawn Sword in the other. Actually it has compressed the turbulent humours of this Country, and encouraged the better tendencies thereof, hitherto; it has set its foot resolutely on the neck of English Anarchy, and points with its armed hand to noble onward and upward paths. All which, England, thankful at lowest for peace and order, by degrees recognises; with acquiescence, not

the reformation; and afterwards for Cromwell against the reformation. Now' again, 'being denied Cromwell's Daughter Mary in marriage, he appears against Cromwell's design in the last Assembly,' the constitutioning Parliament, where his behaviour was none of the best; 'and is therefore dismissed the Council, Cromwell being resolved to act there as the chief juggler himself; and one Colonel Mackworth, a Lawyer about Shrewsbury, a person fit for his purpose, is chosen in his room.'—Mackworth was a Soldier as well as Lawyer; the same who, as Governor of Shrewsbury, gave negative response to Charles Second, when he summoned him on the road to Worcester, once upon a time. Mackworth was in the Council, and had even died, and entirely left the Council, before Anthony Ashley left it (*Thurloe*, iii. 581; and *Godwin*, iv. 288). My solid friend, absent in Ireland, sulkily breathing the air in Essex, falls into some errors! Court-rumour, this of his; truth in the heart of it, details rather vague;—not much worth verifying or rectifying here.

[1] Vol. i. p. 71.

without some slow satisfactory feeling. England is in peace at home; stands as the Queen of Protestantism abroad; defies Spain and Antichrist, protects poor Piedmont Protestants and servants of Christ; — has taken, all men admit, a nobler attitude than it ever had before.

Nor has the task been easy hitherto; nor is it like to be. No holiday work, governing such an England as this of Oliver Protector's; with strong Papistry abroad, and a Hydra of Anarchies at home! The domestic Hydra is not slain; cannot, by the nature of it, be *slain*; can only be scotched and mowed down, head after head, as it successively protrudes itself;—till, by the aid of Time, it slowly *die*. As yet, on any hint of foreign encouragement it revives again, requires to be scotched and mowed down again. His exiled Majesty Charles Stuart has got a new lever in hand, by means of this War with Spain.

Seven years ago his exiled Majesty's 'Embassy to Spain,' embassy managed by Chancellor Hyde and another, proved rather a hungry affair; and ended, I think, in little,—except the murder of poor Ascham, the then Parliament's Envoy at Madrid; whom, like Dutch Dorislaus, as 'an accursed regicide or abettor of regicides,' certain cut-throat servants of the said hungry Embassy broke-in upon, one afternoon, and slew. For which violent deed no full satisfaction could be got from Spain, — the murderers having taken 'sanctuary,' as was pleaded.[1] With that rather sorry result, and no other noticeable, Chancellor Hyde's Embassy took itself away again; Spain ordering it to go. But now, this fierce Protestant Protector breathing nothing but war, Spain finds that the English domestic Hydra, if well operated upon by Charles Stuart, might be a useful thing; and grants Charles Stuart some encouragements for that. His poor Majesty is coming to the seashore again; is to have 'Seven-thousand Spaniards' to invade England,—if the domestic Hydra will stir with effect.

[1] Clarendon, iii. 498-509; Process and Pleadings in the Court of Spain upon the Death of Anthony Ascham (in *Harl. Miscell.* vi. 236-47).

The domestic Hydra, I think, had better lie quiet for a while! This Letter to Henry Cromwell is to bid him too, for his part, be awake in Ireland to these things.

For the Hydra is not dead; and its heads are legion. Major Wildman, for example, sits safe in Chepstow: but Sexby, the Anabaptist Colonel, whom we could not take on that occasion, is still busy; has been 'trying to seduce the Fleet,' trying to do this and that; is now fairly gone to Spain, to treat with Antichrist himself for the purpose of bringing-in a Reign of Christ,—the truly desperate Anabaptist Colonel![1] It is a Hydra like few. Spiritual and Practical: Muggletonians, mad Quakers riding into Bristol, Fifth-Monarchists, Hungry Flunkies: ever scheming, plotting with or without hope, to 'seduce the Protector's Guard,' 'to blow-up the Protector in his bed-room,' and do 'other little fiddling things,' as the Protector calls them,—which one cannot waste time in specifying! Only the slow course of nature can kill that Hydra: till a Colonel Sexby *die*, how can you keep him quiet?—

But what doubtless gives new vitality to plotting, in these weeks, is the fact that a General Election to Parliament is going on. There is to be a new Parliament;—in which may lie who knows what contentions. The Protector lost it last time, by the arithmetical account of heads; will he gain it this time? Account of heads is not exactly the Protector's basis; but he hopes he may now gain it even so. At all events, this wide foreign and domestic Spanish War cannot be carried on without supplies; he will first try it so,—then otherwise if not so.

"TO HENRY CROMWELL, MAJOR-GENERAL OF THE ARMY IN IRELAND"

"Whitehall," 26th August 1656.

Son Harry,—We are informed, from several hands, that the old Enemy are forming designs to invade Ireland, as well

[1] Clarendon, iii. 852; Thurloe, iv. 698, etc.

as other parts of the Commonwealth; and that he and Spain have very great correspondence with some chief men in that Nation, for raising a sudden rebellion there.

Therefore we judge it very necessary that you take all possible care to put the Forces into such a condition as may answer anything that may fall-out in this kind. And to that end, that you contract the Garrisons in Ireland, as many as may be; and get a considerable marching Army into the field, in two or three bodies, to be left in the most proper and advantageous places for service, as occasion shall require. Taking also, in all other things, your best care you can to break and prevent the designs and combinations of the Enemy;—and a very particular regard is to be had to the North, where, without question, busy and discontented persons are working towards new disturbances. I do not doubt but you will communicate this thing to Colonel Cowper, to the end he may be more watchful and diligent in looking to this danger. I rest, your loving father,

*OLIVER CROMWELL.**

'Colonel Cowper' commands the Forces in Ulster. Plenty of details about him in Thurloe's Fourth Volume:—our readers can sufficiently conceive him without details. We are more interested to state, from a Letter of Thurloe's which goes along with this, that there are 'Fourteen Spanish ships plying about the Isle of Islay,' doubtless with an eye to Carrickfergus; that we hope, and indeed believe, my Lord Henry will be on the alert. For the rest, the Elections are going well; all 'for peace and settlement,' as we hear, 'and great friends to the Government.' Ashley Cooper, indeed, has been chosen for Wilts: but, on the other hand, Bradshaw has missed in Cheshire; Sir Henry Vane has tried in three places and missed in all.[1] This is of date 26th August 1656; poor England universally sifting itself; trying what the arithmetical account of heads will do for it, once more.

* Sloane MSS. 4157, f. 209; and (with insignificant variations) Thurloe, v. 348.

[1] Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, date 26th Aug. (v. 349).

LETTER CCXIV

THE Portugal has done justice; reluctantly aware at last that jesuitries would not serve him.[1] The Spaniards, again, cower close within their harbours; patient of every insult; no ship will venture out, and no Plate Fleet will come in: and as for 'attempting Cadiz or Gibraltar,' the Sea-Generals, after mature survey, decide that without other force it cannot prudently be done. This is what Montague, with his clear eyes, has had to report to Secretary Thurloe on the latter enterprise: 'I perceive much desire that Gibraltar should be taken. My thoughts as to that are, in short, these: That the likeliest way to get it is, By landing on the sand, and quickly cutting it off between sea and sea, or so securing our men there as that they may hinder the intercourse of the Town with the Main; frigates lying near, too, to assist them:—and it is well known that Spain never victualleth any place for one month. This will want Four or Five thousand men, well formed and officered.—This is my own only thought which I submit, at present.'[2]

Whereupon the Lord Protector sends the following Orders; one other Sea Letter of his which we happen to have left. Mainly of Thurloe's composition, I perceive; but worth preserving on various accounts.

TO GENERALS BLAKE AND MONTAGUE, AT SEA

Whitehall, 28th August 1656.

Gentlemen,—We have received your Letters of the 19*th of June brought to us by Captain Lloyd, who arrived here the* 11*th of July.*

[1] Meadows to Blake and Montague, 13th May 1656: Thurloe, v. 14;—see *ib.* 69, 116, and 118 (the Portugal's Letter to Oliver, 24th June 1656).

[2] Montague to Thurloe, in cipher, 20th April to 29th May 1656 (*Thurloe*, v. 67-70), 'received by Captain Lloyd, who arrived here 11th July,'—and has brought other Letters, joint Letters from the Generals, of somewhat later date, as we shall perceive.

By those Letters, and by what Captain Lloyd related by word of mouth,—which is not contradicted by yours of the 1st and 3d of July, "since" received by the Squadron of Ten Ships (which are all safely arrived in the Channel), nor by any other intelligence received by other hands,—we find That the Spaniard keeps "within" his Ports, and doth not yet prepare any considerable Fleet to come to Sea; and that, in the condition you and they were then in, they were not to be attempted in their Harbours. And as for any design upon Gibraltar, we see by General Montague's Letter to the Secretary, that nothing therein was feasible without a good Body of Landsmen.—So that, upon the whole, there remains nothing to be done, in those seas for the present, which should require the whole Fleet now with you to remain there. Besides that the Great Ships cannot, without great danger, be kept out, the winter-time, upon that coast.

Upon these grounds we are of opinion, with you, That a good Squadron of Frigates will, in this season, be sufficient to answer any opportunity of service which may present itself. And therefore we have resolved That about the number of Twenty Ships, such as you shall judge proper and fit for that purpose, be kept in those seas; and the rest be sent home, with the first opportunity of wind and weather:—and desire that you will give order therein accordingly. And in respect it will be necessary that we advise with one of you at least, upon this whole affair; and it being also very inconvenient that you should be both *from the head of the Fleet which remains behind, the management thereof being of so great concernment to the Commonwealth,—we would have General Blake to stay with the Fleet, and General Montague to come with the Squadron which comes home.*

For the service which these Ships "that stay" should be applied to, —we need say nothing therein; but refer you to the former Instructions. That which we believe the Enemy will most intend will be the carrying-on his Trade to the West Indies;

which if he can effectually do, he will not much care for what else is done upon him. And our intelligence is, That at this time he is fitting-out some Ships of war, and others, to send from Cadiz into those parts;—the certainty whereof we suppose you may know. And therefore that which is most to be endeavoured is, The spoiling him in that Trade, by intercepting his Fleets either going to or coming from those parts,[1]*—and as much as may be To destroy his correspondencies thither. It will be of great use also to prevent the coming of any Materials for Shipping, or other contraband goods into Cadiz or any of his Ports: which you can have an eye to; and, as much as may be, prejudice his correspondency with Flanders.*

Besides these things, and what other damage you may have an opportunity to do the Enemy, we, in our keeping the said Fleet in those Seas, had an eye to the Preservation of the Trade of this Commonwealth in the Straits and to Portugal:[2] *which we suppose could not be driven on without a very good countenance and strength,—in respect the Enemy would otherwise be able with a few ships to obstruct this trade wholly, and to take all that passed either to or from the one place or the other. But our intention is not To reckon up every particular wherein this Fleet may be useful, but only To let you know our general scope; and to leave the management and improvement thereof to the prudence and direction of him who is to abide upon the place. Whom we beseech the Lord to be present with; and to guide him to that which may be for the good of this Commonwealth, and according to His own will.*

These have been our thoughts, and the considerations we have had upon this Affair. If anything else doth occur to you different from what is here expressed, either as to the number of Ships to remain in those seas, or the way and manner of weakening the Enemy and managing the War against him,—

[1] 'thence' in orig.

[2] Here, I think, at the beginning of this Paragraph, the Protector himself has more decidedly struck in.

we desire to understand your sense and advice hereupon, with all possible speed; sooner, if it may be, than the return of the aforesaid Squadron. And in the mean time we are not willing to tie you up positively to the number of Twenty Ships to remain on that Coast; but give you a latitude to keep a lesser or greater number there, for answering the ends aforesaid, and "so" as you shall find the occasion to require, which possibly may be very much varied since the last we had from you.—For what concerns the Provisions of victuals and other things which the Fleet will stand in need of, the Commissioners of the Admiralty have direction to write at large to you. Unto whose Letters we refer you;—and desire you and the whole Fleet to rest assured that nothing shall be omitted to be done, here, for your supply and encouragement upon all occasions. Your loving friend,

"OLIVER P." *

About a fortnight ago, August 13th, learned Bulstrode went with the Swedish Ambassador to dine with a famed Sea-General, Sir George Ayscough, of whom we have occasionally heard; who lives for the present, retired from service, 'at his House in Surrey': House not known to me; which by the aid of 'ponds, moats,' and hydraulic contrivances, he has made to 'stand environed in water like a ship at sea,'—very charming indeed; and says he has 'cast anchor' here. Our entertainment was superb. The brilliant Swedish Ambassador and Sir George spake much about frigates, their rates of sailing, their capabilities of fighting, and other technical topics; which a learned mind might, without much tedium, listen to. 'After dinner, the Ambassador came round by Hampton Court, to take his leave of the Lady Claypole and her Sisters';[1]—which latter small fact, in the ancient Autumn afternoon, one rather loves to remember! As for this Swedish Ambassador, he is just about quitting England, the high-tempered, clear-glancing man; having settled 'copperas,' 'contrabanda,' and

* Thurloe, v. 363. 'Sent to Plymouth, To be sent to the Generals by Captain Hatsell.'

[1] Whitlocke, pp. 638-9.

many other things, to mutual satisfaction ;—nay it is surmised he has thoughts of inviting Ayscough into Sweden to teach them seamanship there ; which, however, shall not concern us on this occasion.[1]

SPEECH V

But the new Parliament is now about assembling ; wherein we shall see what conclusions will be tried ! A momentous question for his Highness and the Council of State ; who have been, with interest enough, perusing and pondering the List of Names returned. On the whole, a hopeful Parliament, as Thurloe had expected : Official persons, these and others known as friends to this Government, are copiously elected : the great body of the Parliament seems to consist of men well-affected to his Highness, and even loyal to him ; who, witnessing the course he follows, wish him heartily God-speed thereon. Certain others there are, and in considerable number, of stiff Republican ways, or given to turbulence in general,—a Haselrig, a Thomas Scott, an Ashley Cooper : these, as a mass of leaven which might leaven the whole lump, and produce one knows not what in the way of fermentation, are clearly very dangerous. But for these also his Highness and the Council of State, in the present anomalous condition of the Nation, have silently provided an expedient. Which we hope may be of service. On the whole, we trust this Parliament may prove a better than the last.

At all events, on Wednesday 17th September 1656, Parliament, Protector, all in due state, do assemble at the Abbey Church ; and, with reverence and credence, hear Doctor Owen, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, very pertinently preach to them from these old words of Isaiah,—old and yet always new and true : *What shall one then answer to the Messengers of the Nation ? That the Lord hath founded Zion, and the Poor*

[1] *Biog. Britan.* § Ayscough.

of His People shall trust in it.[1] After which, all having removed, still in due state, to the Painted Chamber, and there adjusted themselves, the Protector, rising in his elevated place and taking off his hat, now speaks. The Speech, reported by one knows not whom, lies in old Manuscript in the British Museum; and printed in late years in the Book called *Burton's Diary;* here and there in a very dreary, besmeared, unintelligible condition; from which, as heretofore, a pious Editor strives to rescue it. Sufficiently studied, it becomes intelligible, nay luminous. Let the reader too read with piety, with a real endeavour to understand.

'GENTLEMEN,—When I came hither, I did think that a 'duty was incumbent upon me a little to pity myself; 'because, this being a very extraordinary occasion, I thought 'I had very many things to say unto you, "and was some-'what burdened and straitened thereby." But truly now, 'seeing *you* in such a condition as you are,[2] I think I must 'turn off "my pity" in this, as I hope I shall in everything 'else;—and consider *you* as certainly not being able long 'to bear that condition and heat that you are now in.——— '"So far as possible, on this large subject, let us be brief; 'not studying the Art of Rhetoricians." Rhetoricians, whom 'I do not pretend to "much concern with"; neither with 'them, nor with what they use to deal in: Words!

'Truly *our* business is to speak Things! The Dispensa-'tions of God that are upon us do require it; and that 'subject upon which we shall make our discourse is somewhat 'of very great interest and concernment, both for the glory 'of God, and with reference to His Interest in the world. I 'mean His peculiar, His most peculiar Interest, "His Church, 'the Communion of the faithful Followers of Christ";—and 'that will not leave any of us to exclude His general Interest, 'which is the concernment of the Living People, "not as 'Christians but as human creatures," within these three

[1] Isaiah xiv. 32.

[2] Place crowded, weather hot.

'Nations, and all the Dependencies thereupon. I have told 'you I should speak to *things;* things that concern these 'Interests: The Glory of God, and His Peculiar Interest in 'the world,—which "latter" is more extensive, I say more 'extensive, than the People of all these three Nations with 'the appurtenances, or the countries and places, belonging 'unto them.[1]

'The first thing, therefore, that I shall speak to is *That* 'that is the first lesson of Nature: Being and Preservation. [*Begin at the basis: How are we to get continued at all as a Nation, not trampled under foot by Invaders, Anarchies,* '*and reduced to wreck?*] As to that of Being, I do think 'I do not ill style it the *first* consideration which Nature 'teacheth the Sons of Adam:—and then I think we shall 'enter into a field large enough when we come to consider 'that of Well-being. But if Being itself be not first well 'laid, I think the other will hardly follow!

'Now in order to this, to the Being and Subsistence of 'these Nations with all their Dependencies: The conserva- 'tion of that, "namely of our National Being," is first to be 'viewed with respect to those who seek to undo it, and so 'make it *not to be;* and then very naturally we shall come 'to the consideration of what will make it *be*, of what will '*keep* its being and subsistence. [*His Highness's heads of method.*]

'"Now," that which plainly seeks the destruction of the 'Being of these Nations is, out of doubt: The endeavour 'and design of all the common Enemies of them. I think, 'truly, it will not be hard to find out who those Enemies 'are; nor what hath made them so! I think, They are all 'the wicked men in the world, whether abroad or at home, 'that are the Enemies to the very Being of these Nations;—

[1] 'More extensive': more important would have better suited what went before; yet 'extensive' is in all likelihood the word, for his Highness is here branching out into a second idea, which he goes on to blend with the primary one, of 'the concernment of the general mass of the People.'

'and this upon a common account, from the very enmity 'that is in them "to all such things." Whatsoever could 'serve the glory of God and the interest of His People,— 'which they see to be more eminently, yea more eminently 'patronised and professed in this Nation (we will not speak 'it with vanity) than in all the Nations in the world: *this* 'is the common ground of the common enmity entertained 'against the prosperity of our Nation, against the very Being 'of it.—But we will not, I think, take up our time, con- 'templating who these Enemies are, and what they are, in 'the general notion: we will labour to *specificate* our Enemies; 'to know what persons and bodies of persons they practically 'are that seek the very destruction and [1] Being of these Three 'Nations.

'And truly I would not have laid such a foundation but 'to the end I might very particularly communicate with you '"about that same matter." From which "above others," 'I think, you are called hither at this time:—That I might 'particularly communicate with you about the many dangers 'these Nations stand in, from Enemies abroad and at home; 'and advise with you about the remedies, and means to 'obviate these dangers. "Dangers" which,—say I, and I 'shall leave it to you whether you will join with me or no, '—strike at the very Being and "vital" interest of these 'Nations. And therefore, coming to particulars, I will 'shortly represent to you the estate of your affairs in that 'respect: in respect "namely," of the Enemies you are 'engaged with; and how you come to be engaged with those 'Enemies, and how they come to be, *as* heartily, I believe, 'engaged against you. [*His Highness's utterance is terribly rusty hitherto; creaky, uncertain, difficult! He will gather strength by going. Wait till the axles get warm a little!*]

'Why, truly, your great Enemy is the Spaniard. He is 'a natural enemy. He is naturally so; he is naturally so

[1] 'of the' would be more grammatical; but much less Oliverian.

'throughout,—by reason of that enmity that is in him against 'whatsoever is of God. "Whatsoever is of God" which is 'in *you*, or which may be in you; contrary to that which '*his* blindness and darkness, led on by superstition, and the 'implicitness of his faith in submitting to the See of Rome, 'actuate[1] him unto!—With this King and State, I say, you 'are at present in hostility. We put you into this hostility. 'You will give us leave to tell you how. [*By sending out your Hispaniola Fleet, Christmas gone a year,—which has 'issued rather sorrily, your Highness!*] For we are ready to 'excuse "this and" most of our actions,—and to justify 'them too, as well as to excuse them,—upon the ground of 'Necessity. "And" the ground of Necessity, for justifying 'of men's actions, is above all considerations of instituted 'Law; and if this or any other State should go about,—'as I know they never will,—to make Laws against Events, 'against what *may* happen, "then" I think it is obvious 'to any man, they will be making Laws against Providence; 'events, and issues of things, being from God alone, to whom 'all issues belong.

'The Spaniard is your enemy; and your enemy, as I tell 'you, naturally, by that antipathy which is in him,—"and 'also" providentially,[2] and this in divers respects. You could 'not get an honest or honourable Peace from him: it was 'sought by the Long Parliament; it was not attained. It 'could not be attained with honour and honesty. I say, it 'could not be attained with honour and honesty. And truly 'when I say that, "I do but say," He is naturally throughout '*an enemy;* an enmity is put into him by God. 'I will put 'an enmity between thy seed and her seed';[3]—which goes 'but for little among statesmen, but is more considerable 'than all things! [*Yea, your Highness; it is!—Listen to what his Highness himself says of his reasons for going to*

[1] 'acts' in orig., now as always.

[2] Means, not 'luckily' as now, but simply 'by special ordering of Providence.'

[3] Genesis iii. 15.

war with Spain. '*Statesmen*' *too, if they can separate therein what is transitory from what is perennial and eternal, may find it still very worthy of attention. He who has in him, who manifests in the ways of him, an* '*enmity to God*,' *and goes about patronising unveracities, rotten delusions, brazen falsities, pestilent injustices,—with him, whatever his seeming extent of money-capital and worldly prosperity may be, I would advise no nation nor statesman nor man to be prompt in clapping-up an alliance. He will not come to good, I think; not he, for one. Bad security in his firm; have no trade with him. With him your only fit trade is, Duel to the death,* ' *when the time comes for that!*] And he that considers not ' such natural enmity, the *providential* enmity, as well as the ' *accidental*, I think he is not well acquainted with Scripture ' and the things of God. And the Spaniard is not only our ' enemy accidentally, but he is providentially so; God having ' in His wisdom disposed it so to be, when we made a breach ' with the Spanish Nation "long ago."

' No sooner did this Nation form what is called (unworthily) ' the Reformed Religion [*It was not half reformed!*] after the ' death of Queen Mary, by the Queen Elizabeth of famous ' memory,—we need not be ashamed to call her so! [*No, your Highness; the royal court-phrase expresses in this case an exact truth. She was, and is,* '*of famous memory*']— ' but the Spaniard's design became, By all unworthy, unnatural ' means, to destroy that Person, and to seek the ruin and ' destruction of these Kingdoms. For me to instance in ' particulars upon that account, were to trouble you at a very ' unseasonable time: there is a Declaration extant [*The* ' *Council's* '*Declaration*,' *in October last*], which very fully ' hath in it the origin of the Spaniard venting himself upon ' this Nation; and a series of it[1] from those very beginnings ' to this present day. But his enmity was partly upon that ' general account which all are agreed "about." The French, ' all the Protestants in Germany, all have agreed, That his

[1] Of 'his ventings,' namely.

'design was the empire of the whole Christian World, if 'not more;—and upon *that* ground he looks, "and hath 'looked," at this Nation as his greatest obstacle. And as to 'what his attempts have been for that end,—I refer you 'to that Declaration, and to the observations of men who 'read History. It would not be difficult to call to mind the 'several Assassinations designed upon that Lady, that great 'Queen: the attempts upon Ireland, the Spaniards' invading 'of it; their designs of the same nature upon *this* Nation,— 'public designs, private designs, all manner of designs, to 'accomplish this great and general end. Truly King James 'made a Peace; but whether this Nation, and the interest of 'all Protestant Christians, suffered not more by that Peace, 'than ever by Spain's hostility, I refer to your consideration!

'Thus a State which you can neither have peace with nor 'reason from,—that is the State with which you have enmity 'at this time, and against which you are engaged. And give 'me leave to say this unto you, because it is truth, and most 'men know it, That the Long Parliament did endeavour, but 'could not obtain satisfaction "from the Spaniard" all the 'time they sat: for their Messenger [*Poor Ascham!*] was 'murdered: and when they asked satisfaction for the blood of 'your poor people unjustly shed in the West Indies [*Yes, at 'Tortuga, at St. Kitt's; in many a place and time!*], and for 'the wrongs done elsewhere; when they asked liberty of 'conscience for your people who traded thither,—satisfaction 'in none of these things would be given, but was denied. I 'say, they denied satisfaction either for your Messenger that 'was murdered, or for the blood that was shed, or the 'damages that were done in the West Indies. No satis- 'faction at all; nor any reason offered *why* there should not 'be liberty "of conscience" given to your people that traded 'thither. Whose trade was very considerable there, and drew 'many of your people thither; and begot an apprehension in '*us* "as to their treatment there,"—whether in *you* or no, let 'God judge between you and Himself. I judge not: but all

'of us know that the people who went thither to manage the 'trade there, were imprisoned. We desired "but" such a 'liberty as "that" they might keep their Bibles in their 'pockets, to exercise their liberty of religion for themselves, 'and not be under restraint. But there is not liberty of 'conscience to be had "from the Spaniard"; neither is there 'satisfaction for injuries, nor for blood. When these two 'things were desired, the Ambassador told us, 'It was to ask 'his Master's two eyes';[1] to ask both his eyes, asking these 'things of him!—

'Now if this be so, why truly then here is some little 'foundation laid to justify the War that has been entered-'upon[2] with the Spaniard! And not only so: but the plain 'truth of it is, Make any peace with any State that is Popish 'and subjected to the determination of Rome and "of" the 'Pope himself,—you are bound, and they are loose. It is 'the pleasure of the Pope at any time to tell you, That 'though the man is murdered [*Poor Ascham, for example!*], 'yet his murderer has got into the sanctuary! And equally 'true is it, and hath been found by common and constant 'experience, That Peace is but to be kept so long as the 'Pope saith Amen to it. [*What is to be done with such a set 'of people?*]—We have not "now" to do with any Popish 'State except France: and it is certain that *they* do not 'think themselves under such a tie to the Pope; but think 'themselves at liberty to perform honesties with nations 'in agreement with them, and protest against the obligation 'of such a thing as that,—"of breaking your word at the 'Pope's bidding." *They* are able to give us an explicit 'answer to anything reasonably demanded of them: and 'there is no other Popish State we can speak of, save this 'only, but will break their promise or keep it as they please

[1] 'these two things': Exemption to our traders from injury in the West Indies, and Liberty to have Bibles and worship:—See Thurloe (i. 760-1); Bryan Edwards (i. 141-3); etc.

[2] 'that was had' in orig.

'upon these grounds,—being under the lash of the Pope, 'to be by him determined, "and made to decide."

'In the time when Philip Second was married to Queen 'Mary, and since that time, through Spanish power and 'instigation, Twenty-thousand Protestants were murdered in 'Ireland. We thought, being denied just things,—we thought 'it our duty to get that by the sword which was not to be 'had otherwise! And this hath been the spirit of English-'men; and if so, certainly it is, and ought to be, the spirit 'of men that have *higher* spirits! [*Yes, your Highness: 'Men that are Englishmen and more,—Believers in God's Gospel, namely!'—Very clumsily said; but not at all clumsily meant, and the very helplessness of the expression adding something 'of English and Oliverian character to it.*]—With that State 'you are engaged. And it is a great and powerful State:—'though I may say also, that with all other Christian States 'you are at peace. All these "your other" engagements 'were upon you before this Government was undertaken: 'War with France, Denmark,—nay, upon the matter, War, '"or as good as War," with Spain "itself." I could instance 'how it was said "in the Long-Parliament time," 'We will 'have a war in the Indies, though we fight them not at 'home.' I say, we are at peace with all other Nations, and 'have only a war with Spain. I shall say somewhat "farther" 'to you, which will let you see our clearness "as" to that, 'by and by.

'Having thus "said, we are" engaged with Spain,—"that 'is the root of the matter"; that is the party that brings *all* 'your enemies before you. [*Coming now to the Home Malig-'nants.*] It doth: for so it is now, that Spain hath espoused 'that Interest which you have all along hitherto been con-'flicting with,—Charles Stuart's Interest. And I would but 'meet the gentleman upon a fair discourse who is willing that 'that Person should come back again!—but I dare not 'believe any in this room is. [*Heavens, no; not one of us!*] 'And I say, it doth not detract at all from your Cause, nor

'from your ability to make defence of it, That God by His 'providence hath so disposed that the King of Spain should 'espouse that Person. And I say "farther" [*His Highness's spirit gets somewhat tumultuous here, and blazes up with several ideas at once,—producing results of 'some inextric-'ableness,' as he himself might phrase it*], No man but might 'be very well satisfied that it is not for aversion to that 'Person [*Not for his sake that we have gone to war with Spain:—the Cavaliers talk loudly so, and it is not so*]—! 'And the 'choosing out' (as was said today[1]) 'a Captain to 'lead us *back into Egypt*,' "what honest man has *not* an 'aversion to that?"—if there *be* such a place? I mean 'metaphorically and allegorically such a place; "if there be," 'that is to say, A *returning* "on the part of some" to all 'those things we have been fighting against, and a destroying 'of all that good (as we had some hints today) which we have 'attained unto—?—I am sure my Speech "and defence of 'the Spanish War" will signify very little, if such grounds [*Grounds indicated, in this composite 'blaze of ideas,' which is luminous enough, your Highness; but too simultaneous for 'being very distinct to strangers!*] go not for good! Nay, I 'will say this to you, Not a man in England, that is disposed 'to comply with Papists and Cavaliers, but to him my Speech 'here is the greatest parable, the absurdest discourse! And 'in a word, we could wish they were all where Charles Stuart 'is, all who declare ['*By their cavilling at Spanish Wars and 'so on': his Highness looks animated!*] that they are of that 'spirit. I do, with all my heart;—and I would help them 'with a boat to carry them over, who are of that mind! 'Yea, and if you shall think it a duty to drive them over 'by arms, I will help in that also!— —

'You are engaged with such an Enemy; a foreign enemy, 'who hath such allies among ourselves:—this last said hath a 'little vehemency in it [*His Highness repents him of blazing 'up into unseemly heat*]: but it is well worth your consideration.

[1] In Owen's Sermon.

'Though I seem to be, all this while, upon the justice of 'the business, yet my desire is to let you see the dangers '"and grand crisis" this Nation stands in "thereby." All 'the honest interests; yea, all interests of the Protestants, in 'Germany, Denmark, Helvetia and the Cantons, and all the 'interests in Christendom, are the same as yours. If you 'succeed, if you succeed well and act well, and be convinced 'what is God's Interest, and prosecute it, you will find that 'you act for a very great many who are God's own. There-'fore I say that your danger is from the Common Enemy 'abroad; who is the head of the Papal Interest, the head of 'the Antichristian Interest,—who is so described in Scripture, 'so forespoken of, and so fully, under that characteral name '"of Antichrist" given him by the Apostle in the *Epistle 'to the Thessalonians*, and likewise so expressed in the '*Revelations;* which are sure and plain things! Except you 'will deny the truth of the Scriptures, you must needs see 'that that State is so described in Scripture to be Papal and 'Antichristian. [*Who would not go to war with it!*] I say, 'with this Enemy, and upon this account, you have the 'quarrel,—with the Spaniard.

'And truly he hath an interest in your bowels;[1] he hath 'so. The Papists in England,—they have been accounted, 'ever since I was born, Spaniolised. There is not a man 'among us can hold up his face against that. [*The justifying of the Spanish War is a great point with his Highness!*] 'They never regarded France; they never regarded any other 'Papist State where a "hostile" Interest was, "but Spain 'only." Spain was their patron. Their patron all along, in 'England, in Ireland, and Scotland: no man can doubt of it. 'Therefore I must needs say, this "Spanish" Interest is also, 'in regard to your home-affairs, a great source of your danger. 'It is, and it evidently is; and will be more so,—upon that 'account that I told you of: He hath espoused Charles Stuart! 'With whom he is fully in agreement; for whom he hath

[1] Old phrase for 'the interior of your own country.'

'raised Seven or Eight Thousand men, and has them now 'quartered at Bruges; to which number Don John of Austria 'has promised that, as soon as the campaign is ended, which 'it is conceived will be in about five or six weeks, he shall 'have Four or Five Thousand added. And the Duke of 'Neuburg, who is a Popish prince, hath promised good 'assistance according to his power; and other Popish States 'the like. In this condition you are with that State "of 'Spain"; and in this condition through unavoidable neces-'sity; because your enemy was *naturally* an enemy, and is 'providentially too become so. [*Always, by the law of his being, as Antichristian to Christian, a* VIRTUAL *enemy; and now Providence, with beneficent wisdom, has developed him into an* ACTUAL *one.*—'*That was his Highness's fundamental reason for rushing at him in the West Indies? Because he was Antichrist?*' *ask some Moderns.—Why yes, it might help, my red-tape Friends! I know well, if I could fall-in with Antichrist anywhere, with Supreme Quack and Damnability anywhere, I should be right happy to have a stroke at him if there seemed any chance!*]

'And now farther,—as there is a complication of these 'Interests abroad, so there is a complication of them here. 'Can we think that Papists and Cavaliers shake not hands 'in England? It is unworthy, unchristian, un-Englishlike,[1] '"say you." Yes; but it doth serve to let you see, and for 'that end I tell it you that you may see, your danger, and 'the source thereof. Nay it is not only thus, in this con-'dition of hostility, that we stand towards Spain; and 'towards all the Interest which would make void and frustrate 'everything that has been doing for you; namely, towards the 'Popish Interest, Papists and Cavaliers;—but it is also—— [*His Highness finds this sentence will not do, and so tries it another way*]—That is to say, your danger is *so great*, if 'you will be sensible of it, by reason of Persons who pretend '*other* things! [*Coming now to the great Miscellany of*

[1] To combine with Papists, even for Royalists to do so.

Anabaptists, Republicans, Levellers; your Allens, Sexbys, Overtons.] "Pretend, I say"; yea who, though perhaps they *do* not all suit in their hearts with the said "Popish" Interest—[*Sentence left ruinous; sense gradually becomes visible*]—Yet every man knows, and must know, that discontented parties are among us somewhere! They must expect backing and support somewhere. They must end in the Interest of the Cavalier at the long-run. That must be their support!—I could have reckoned this in another "head" [*Half soliloquising, his Highness; giving us a glimpse into the strange seething, simmering inner-man of him*]—But I give you an account of things as they arise to me. Because I desire to clear them to you! Not discoursively, in the oratoric way; but to let you see the matter of fact,—to let you see how the state of your affairs stands. [*Well, your Highness; that certainly is the grand object of speaking to us. To show* ME *what* THOU *seest, what is in* THEE*: why else should one human being dare to wag his tongue to another? It is frightful otherwise. One almost loves this incondite half-articulation of his Highness, in comparison.*]

'Certain it is, there was, not long since, an endeavour to make an Insurrection in England. [*Penruddock at Salisbury;—we heard of Wagstaff and him!*] It was going on for some time before it broke out. It was so before the last Parliament sat. "Nay," it was so not only from the time of the undertaking of this Government; but the spirit and principle of it did work in the Long-Parliament "time." From that time to this, hath there been nothing but enterprising and designing against you. And this is no strange or new thing to tell you: Because it is true and certain that the Papists, the Priests and Jesuits have a great influence upon the Cavalier Party; they and the Cavaliers prevail upon the discontented spirits of the Nation,—who are not all so apt to see where the dangers lie, nor to what the management of affairs tends. Those "Papists and Cavaliers"

'do foment all things that tend to *dis*service; to propagate 'discontentments upon the minds of men. And if we would 'instance, in particulars, those that have manifested this,— 'we could tell you how Priests and Jesuits have insinuated 'themselves into men's society; pretending the same things 'that *they* pretended;—whose ends, "these Jesuits' ends," 'have, out of doubt, been what I have told you. [*Dark spectres of Jesuits; knitting-up Charles Stuart, the Spaniard, and all manner of Levellers and discontented persons, into one Antichristian mass, to overwhelm us therewith!*]

'We had that Insurrection. It was intended first to the 'assassination of my person;—which I would not remember 'as anything at all considerable to myself or to you [*Very 'well, your Highness!*]: for they would have had to cut 'throats beyond human calculation before they could have 'been able to effect their design. But you know it very well, '"this of the assassination";—it is no fable. Persons were 'arraigned for it before the Parliament sat; and tried, and 'upon proof, condemned [*Gerard and Vowel; we remember 'them!*]—for their designs to cut the throat of myself, and 'three or four more; whom they had singled out as being, a 'little beyond ordinary, industrious to preserve the peace of 'the Nation. And did think to make a very good issue "in 'that way," to the accomplishment of their designs! I say, 'this was made good upon the Trial. Before the Parliament 'sat, all the time the Parliament sat, they were about it. 'We did hint these things to the Parliament people by several 'persons, who acquainted them therewith. But what fame 'we lay under I know not! [*Suspicious of us in that 'Parliament!*] It was conceived, it seems, we had things[1] 'which rather intended to persuade agreement and consent, 'and bring money out of the people's purses, or I know not 'what:—in short, nothing was believed [*Very beautifully rebutted, your Highness; without even anger at it; as the Lion walks quietly on through cobwebs. We had 'things'*

[1] Means 'we made statements'; very Oliverian expression.

which rather intended to etc. etc. What most articulate rhetoric could match this half-articulate,—articulate enough 'for the occasion!]; though there was a series of things 'distinctly and plainly communicated to many Members.

'The Parliament rose about the middle of January. By 'the 12th of March after, the people were in arms. But ''they were a company of mean fellows,'—alas!—'not a 'lord, nor a gentleman, nor a man of fortune, nor a this nor 'that, among them: but it was a poor headstrong people, 'a company of rash fellows who were at the undertaking 'of this,'—and that was all! And by such things [*His Highness's face indicates that he means 'no-things,' 'babblements'*] have men "once well-affected" lost their consciences 'and honours, complying, "coming to agreement with Malig-'nants," upon such notions as these!—Give me leave to tell 'you, We know it; we are able to prove it. And I refer you 'to that Declaration [1] which was for guarding against Cavaliers '(as I did before to that other "Declaration" which set 'down the grounds of our War with Spain), Whether these 'things were true or no? If men will not believe,—we are 'satisfied, we do our duty. [*A suspicious people, your Highness: nay not suspicious, so much as incredulous, obstinate, dreadfully thick of skin and sense,—and unused to such 'phenomena as your Highness!*]—If we let you know things 'and the ground of them, it is satisfaction enough to *us:* But 'to see how men can reason themselves out of their honours 'and consciences in their compliance with those sort of people '—!—Which, truly I must needs say, some men had com-'pliance with, who I thought never *would* for all the world: 'I must tell you so.—

'These men rise in March. And that it was a general 'Design, I think all the world must know and acknowledge. 'For it is as evident as the day, that the King [*We may call 'him 'King'*] sent Sir Joseph Wagstaff and another, the Earl 'of Rochester, to the North. And that it was general, we

[1] Can be read in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 434 et seqq.

'had not by suspicion or imagination; but we know indivi-
'duals! We are able to make appear, That persons who
'carried themselves the most demurely and fairly of any men
'in England were engaged in this business. And he that
'gave us our intelligence lost his life for it in Neuburg
'Country [*Yes, Manning was shot there; he had told us*
'*Hyde was cock-sure*];—I think I may now speak of that,
'because he is dead:—but he did discover, from time to time,
'a full intelligence of these things. Therefore, How men of
'wicked spirits may traduce us in that matter; or, notwith-
'standing all that hath been done, may still continue their
'compliances "with the Malignants";—I leave it. [*Yes, let*
'THEM *look to that.*] I think England cannot be safe unless
'Malignants be carried far away!—

'There was never any design on foot but we could hear
'it out of the Tower. He who commanded there[1] would
'give us account, That within a fortnight or such a thing[2]
'there would be some stirrings; for a great concourse of
'people were coming to them, and they had very great
'elevations of spirit. [*Vigilant Barkstead!*] And not only
'there; but in all the Counties of England. We have had
'informations that they were upon designs all over England
'(besides some particular places which came to our particular
'assurance), by knowledge we had from persons in the several
'Counties of England.

'And if this *be* so, then, as long as commotions can be
'held on foot, you are in danger by your War with Spain;
'with whom all the Papal Interest is joined. This Pope[3] is
'a person all the world knows to be a person of zeal for his
'Religion,—wherein perhaps he may shame *us*,—and a man
'of contrivance, and wisdom, and policy; and his Designs are

[1] Barkstead, a Goldsmith once, a severe vigilant Colonel now; who has seen much service.

[2] 'time' might be the word; but I am getting to love this 'thing.'

[3] One *Chigi* by natural name, called Alexander VII. as Pope: an 'Anti-jansenist Pope,' say the Books. With whom, beyond the indispensable, let us crave not to be acquainted.

known to be, all over, nothing but an Endeavour to unite ‘all the Popish Interests in all the Christian world, against ‘this Nation above any, and against all the Protestant ‘Interest in the world.—If this be so, and if you will take a ‘measure of these things; if we must still hold the esteem ‘that we have had “for Spaniards,” and be ready to shake ‘hands with them and the Cavaliers,—what doth this differ ‘from the Bishop of Canterbury [*Poor old Laud, and his Surplices!*] “striving” to reconcile matters of religion; if this ‘temper be upon us to unite with these “Popish” men in ‘Civil Things? Give me leave to say, and speak what I ‘know! If this be men’s mind, I tell you plainly,—I hope I ‘need not; but I wish all the Cavaliers in England, and all ‘the Papists, heard me declare it, and many besides yourselves ‘have “heard me”: There are a company of poor men that ‘are ready to spend their blood against such compliance! [*Right so, your Highness; that is the grand cardinal certainty! An irrevocable Act of Legislature passed in one’s own heart. In spite of all clamours and jargons, and constitutional debatings in Parliament and out of it, there is a man or two will have himself cut in pieces before that ‘shaking of hands’ take place. In fact, I think Christ and Antichrist had better not try shaking of hands; no good will come of it!—Does not his Highness look uncommonly animated?*] ‘—and I am persuaded of the same thing in you!

‘If this be our condition,—with respect had to this, truly ‘let us go a little farther. For I would lay open the danger ‘wherein I think in my conscience we stand; and if God ‘give not your hearts to see and discern what is obvious, we ‘shall sink, and the house will fall about our ears,—upon ‘even “what are called” ‘such sordid attempts’ as these ‘same! Truly there are a great many people in this Nation ‘who ‘would not reckon-up every pitiful thing,’—perhaps ‘like the nibbling of a mouse at one’s heel; but only ‘considerable dangers’! I will tell you plainly “what to me ‘seems dangerous”; it is not a time for compliments nor

'rhetorical speeches,—I have none, truly;—but to tell you 'how we *find* things.[1]

'There is a generation of men in this Nation who cry-up 'nothing but righteousness and justice and liberty [*Coming 'now to the Levellers and 'Commonwealth's-men'*]; and these 'are diversified into several sects, and sorts of men; and 'though they may be contemptible in respect they are many, 'and so not like to make a solid vow to do you mischief,— 'yet they are apt to agree *in aliquo tertio*. They are known '(yea, well enough) to shake hands with,—I should be loath 'to say with Cavaliers,—but with all the scum and dirt of 'this Nation [*Not loath to say that, your Highness?*], to put 'you to trouble. And when I come to speak of the *Remedies*, 'I shall tell you what are the most apt and proper remedies 'in these respects. I speak now of the very time when there 'was an Insurrection at Salisbury, "your Wagstaffs and Pen-'ruddocks openly in arms"—— [*Sudden prick of anger stings his Highness at the thought of that great Peril, and how it was treated and scouted by the incredulous Thickskinned; and 'he plunges in this manner*]—— I doubt whether it be 'believed there ever was any rising in North Wales "at the 'same time"; at Shrewsbury; at Rufford Abbey, where were 'about Five-hundred horse; or at Marston Moor; or in 'Northumberland, and the other places,—where all these 'Insurrections were at that very time! [*Truly it is difficult to keep one's temper; sluggish mortals saved from destruction; 'and won't so much as admit it!*]—— There was a Party 'which was very proper to come between the Papists and 'Cavaliers; and that *Levelling* Party hath some accession 'lately, which goes under a *finer* name or notion! I think 'they would now be called 'Commonwealth's men'; who 'perhaps have right to it little enough. And it is strange 'that men of fortune and great estates [*Lord Grey of Groby;*

[1] Paragraph irretrievably misreported; or indecipherable for want of the tones and looks accompanying it;—in a dim uncertain manner displays the above as a kind of meaning.

'*he is in the Tower; he and others*] should join with such a 'people. But if the *fact* be so, there will need no stretch of 'wit to make it evident, it being so by demonstration. [*His Highness still harps on the incredulity of a thickskinned public, naturally very provoking to him in these perilous, abstruse and necessarily* SECRET *operations of his.*]

'I say, this people at that very time, they were pretty 'numerous,—and do not despise them!—at the time when 'the Cavaliers were risen, this very Party had prepared a 'Declaration against all the things that had been transacted '"by us"; and called them by I know not what "names," ''tyranny,' 'oppression,' things 'against the liberty of the 'subject'; and cried out for 'justice,' and 'righteousness,' 'and 'liberty':—and what was all this business for, but to 'join the Cavaliers to carry-on that Design? And these are 'things,—not words! That Declaration we got; and the 'Penner of it we got [*Locked him fast in Chepstow; the unruly 'Wildman!*]: and we have got intelligence also how the 'business was laid and contrived;—which was hatched in the 'time of the Sitting of that Parliament. I do not accuse 'anybody: but that was the *time* of it;—an unhappy time! 'And a plausible Petition had been penned, which must come 'to me, forsooth [*Through that obtuse Constitutioning Parlia-'ment, I fancy!*], 'To consider of these things, and to give 'redress and remedies.' And this was so.—

'Now indeed I must tell you plainly, we suspected a great 'deal of violence then; and we did hunt it out. I will not 'tell you these are high things [*Call them 'low' if you like; 'mice nibbling at one's heel!*]: but at that time when the 'Cavaliers were to rise, a Party was to seize upon General 'Monk in Scotland, and to commit him to Edinburgh 'Castle, upon this pretence of 'liberty': and when they had 'seized him, and clapped him by the heels, "him" and some 'other true and faithful Officers, they had resolved a number 'at the same time should march away for London; leaving 'a party behind them,—to have their throats cut by the

'Scots! Though I will not say they would have "purposely" 'brought it to this pass; yet it cannot be thought but that 'a considerable "part of the" Army would have followed 'them "hither" at the heels.— — And not only thus: but 'this same spirit and principle designed some little fiddling 'things upon some of your Officers, to an assassination;[1] 'and an Officer was engaged, who was upon the Guard, to 'seize me in my bed. This was true. And other foolish 'designs there were,—as, To get into a room, to get gun-'powder laid in it, and to blow-up the room where I lay. And 'this, we can tell you, is *true*. These are Persons not worthy 'naming; but the things are *true*. And such is the state we 'have stood in, and had to conflict with, since the last 'Parliament. And upon this account, and in this combina-'tion,[2] it is that I say to you, That the ringleaders to all 'this are none but your old enemies the Papists and Cavaliers. 'We have some "of them" in prison for these things.

'Now we would be loath to tell you of notions more 'seraphical! [*His Highness elevating his brows; face assum-'ing a look of irony, of rough banter.*] *These* are poor and 'low conceits. We have had very seraphical notions! We 'have had endeavours to deal between two Interests;—one 'some section of that Commonwealth Interest; and another 'which was a notion of a Fifth-Monarchy Interest! [*A* 'NOTION'; *not even worth calling a* 'SECTION' *or* 'PARTY,'— '*such moonshine was it*!]—Which "strange operation" I do 'not recite, nor what condition it is in, as thinking it not 'worthy our trouble. But *de facto* it hath been so, That 'there have been endeavours;—as there were endeavours to 'make a reconciliation between Herod and Pilate that Christ 'might be put to death, so there have been endeavours of 'reconciliation between the Fifth-Monarchy men and the 'Commonwealth men that there might be union in order 'to an end,—no *end* can be so bad as *that* of Herod's was,—

[1] Means: 'they attempted to persuade some of your Officers to that "little fiddling thing."'

[2] Identity of time and attempt.

'but in order to end in blood and confusion! And, that you 'may know, "to tell you candidly," I profess I do not believe 'of these two last, of Commonwealth men and Fifth-Monarchy 'men, but that they have stood at a distance, 'aloof from 'Charles Stuart." [*The Overtons, the Harrisons, are far above 'such a thing.*] I think they did not participate. I would 'be so charitable, I would be, That they did not. But this 'I will tell you, That as for the others, *they* did not only 'set these things on work; but they sent a fellow [*Sexby, the 'miserable outcast!*], a wretched creature, an apostate from 'religion and all honesty,—they sent him to Madrid to advise 'with the King of Spain to land Forces to invade the Nation. 'Promising satisfaction that they would comply and concur 'with him to have both men and moneys; undertaking both 'to engage the Fleet to mutiny, and also your Army to gain 'a garrison "on the coast"; to raise a party, "so" that if 'the Spaniard would say where he would land, they would be 'ready to assist him!—This person was sometimes[1] a Colonel 'in the Army. He went with Letters to the Archduke 'Leopoldus and Don John. That was an 'Ambassador'; '—and gave promise of much moneys: and hath been 'soliciting, and did obtain moneys; which he sent hither by 'Bills of Exchange:—and God, by His Providence, we being 'exceeding poor, directed that we lighted on some of them 'and some of the moneys! [*Keep hold of them, your High-'ness!*] Now if they be payable, let them be called for! '[*Won't call, I believe!*]—If the House shall think fit to 'order any inspection into these things, they may have it.

'We think it our duty to tell you of these things; and 'we can make them good. Here is your danger; that is it! 'Here is a poor Nation that hath wallowed in its blood;— 'though, thanks be to God, we have had Peace these four or 'five years: yet here is the condition we stand in. And I 'think I should be false to you, If I did not give you this 'true representation of it.

[1] Means 'at one time'; as almost all know.

'I am to tell you, by the way, a word to justify a Thing '[*Coming to the Major-Generals*] which, I hear, is much spoken 'of. When we knew all these Designs before mentioned; 'when we found that the Cavaliers would not be quiet——' No quiet; 'there is no peace to the wicked,' saith the 'Scripture (*Isaiah*, Fifty-seventh): 'They are like the troubled 'sea, which cannot rest; whose waters throw up mire and 'dirt.'[1] They cannot rest,—they have no Peace with God 'in Jesus Christ to the remission of sins! They do not know 'what belongs to that [*My brave one!*]; therefore they know 'not how to be at rest; therefore they can no more cease 'from their actions than they can cease to live,—nor so easily 'neither!——Truly when that Insurrection was, and we saw 'it in all the roots and grounds of it, we did find out a little 'poor Invention, which I hear has been much regretted. I say, 'there was a little thing invented; which was, the erecting of 'your Major-Generals [*Yes!*]: To have a little inspection upon 'the People thus divided, thus discontented, thus dissatisfied, '"split" into divers interests,—and the workings of the Popish 'Party! "Workings" of the Lord Taaff and others;[2] the 'most consisting of Natural-Irish rebels, and all those men 'you have fought against in Ireland, and have expulsed from 'thence, as having had a hand in that bloody Massacre;—of 'him and of those that were under his power; who were now 'to have joined in this excellent business of Insurrection!—

'And upon such a Rising as that was,—truly I think if 'ever anything were justifiable as to Necessity, and honest 'in every respect, this was. And I could as soon venture 'my life with it as with anything I ever undertook! [*His*

[1] Isaiah lvii. 20, 21.

[2] His Highness suddenly breaks off after new quarry on mention of this Party. The Lord Taaff is even now very busy, at Antwerp (*Thurloe*, v.), with Chancellor Hyde, 'throwing up mire and dirt' of the insurrection kind. He was in trouble long ago, at the beginning of the Long Parliament, on the score of the Irish Massacre; sat some time in the Tower (*Clarendon*, ii. 216), with Lord Dillon and others; a generation 'who can no more cease from their practices than they can cease to live, nor so easily neither!'

'*Highness looks animated.*] We did find,—I mean myself 'and the Council did,—That, if there were need to have 'greater forces to carry-on this work, it was a most righteous 'thing to put the charge upon that Party which was the 'cause of it. [*Yea!*] And if there be any man that hath 'a face averse to this, I dare pronounce him to be a man 'against the Interest of England!—Upon this account, upon 'this ground of necessity; when we saw what game they were 'upon; and knew individual persons, and of the greatest 'rank, not a few, engaged in this business (I knew one man 'that laid down his life for it) ['*Name?*' *He must go unnamed, 'this one!*]; and had it by intercepted Letters made as clear 'as the day;—we did think it our duty To make that class 'of persons who, as evidently as anything in the world, were 'in the combination "of the insurrectionists," bear their share 'of the charge. "Bear their share," one with another, for 'the raising of the Forces which were so necessary to defend 'us against those Designs! And truly if any man be angry 'at it,—I am plain, and shall use an homely expression: *Let 'him turn the buckle of his girdle behind him!*[1] If this were 'to be done again, I would do it.

'How the Major-Generals have behaved themselves in that 'work? I hope they are men, as to their persons, of known 'integrity and fidelity; and men who have freely adventured 'their blood and lives for that good Cause,—if it "still" be 'thought such, and it was well stated, "this morning," against 'all the "new" humours and fancies of men!— —And truly 'England doth yet receive one day more of Lengthening-out 'its tranquillity, by that same service of theirs.[2]— —

'Well; your danger is as you have seen. And truly I am 'sorry it is so great. But I wish it to cause no despondency;

[1] The Proverb is in *Ray*; but without commentary. Various friendly Correspondents, who have found it in Shakspeare (*Much Ado about Nothing*, Act v. Scene 1) and elsewhere, point out to me that the meaning is, 'Let him bring his sword-hilt round, then'; ready for drawing; round to the front, where the 'buckle' of his belt or 'girdle' now is.

[2] 'that occasion' in orig.

'—as truly, I think, it will not: for we are Englishmen; 'that is one good fact. And if God give a Nation the 'property of valour and courage, it is honour and a mercy '"from Him." [*Yes, it is a great thing, your Highness!*] 'And much more "than English"! Because you all, I hope, 'are Christian Men, who know Jesus Christ [*Yea!*], and know 'that Cause which hath been mentioned to you this day.

'Having declared to you my sense and knowledge,—'pardon me if I say so, my knowledge,—of the condition of 'these poor Nations, for it hath an influence upon them all, 'it concerneth them all very palpably; I should be to blame 'if I did not a little offer to you the Remedies. [*Second head 'of method: the Remedies.*] I would comprehend them under 'two considerations. They are both somewhat general. The 'one is, The Considering all things that may be done, and 'ought to be done, in order to Security; that is one. And 'truly the other is a common head, "a general, nay a uni-'versal consideration,"—the other is, Doing all things that 'ought to be done in order to Reformation: and with that 'I will close my Discourse. All that hath hitherto been 'hinted-at was but to give you a sense of the danger; which '"truly" is most material and significant; for which princi-'pally you are called hither to advise of the remedies.—I do 'put them, "the remedies," into this twofold method, not 'but that I think they are scarcely distinct. I do believe, 'truly, upon serious and deliberate consideration: That a 'true Reformation, as it may, and will through God's accept-'ance, and by the endeavours of His poor servants, be,—That 'that, "I say," will be pleasing in His sight; and will prove 'not only what shall avert the present danger, but be a 'worthy return for all the blessings and mercies which you 'have received. So, in my conscience, if I were put to show 'it, this hour, Where the security of these Nations will lie?—'forces, arms, watchings, posts, strength; your being and 'freedom; be as politic and diligent, and as vigilant as 'you can be,—I would say in my conscience, and as before

'Almighty God I speak it: I think your Reformation, if it be 'honest and thorough and just, *it* will be your best security! [*Hear him; Hear, hear!*]

'First, "however," with regard to Security "outwardly 'considered." We will speak a little distinctly to that. ['*Be 'ye wise as serpents withal!*'] You will see where your War 'is. It is with the Spaniard. You have Peace with all '"other" Nations, or the most of them; Swede, Dane, 'Dutch. At present, I say, it is well; it is at present so. 'And so likewise with the Portugal, with France,—the 'Mediterranean Sea. Both these States; both Christian and 'Profane; the Mahometan;—you have Peace with them all. 'Only with Spain you have a difference, you have a War. I 'pray consider it. Do I come to tell you that I would *tie* 'you to this War? No. "According" as you shall find 'your spirits and reasons grounded in what hath been said, 'so let you and me join in the prosecution of that War,— '"according" as we are satisfied, and as the cause shall 'appear to our consciences in the sight of the Lord. But if 'you *can* come to prosecute it, prosecute it vigorously, or 'don't do it at all!—

'Truly I shall speak a very great word,—one may ask a 'very great question: '*Unde;* Whence shall the means of it 'come?' Our Nation is overwhelmed in debts! Neverthe- 'less I think it my duty to deal plainly; I shall speak what 'even Nature teacheth us. If we engage in a business,— 'a recoiling man may *haply* recover of his enemy: but the 'wisdom of a man surely will be in the keeping of his ground! 'Therefore that is what I advise you, That we join together 'to prosecute it *vigorously.* In the second place, I would 'advise you to deal effectually,—even *because* there is such 'a 'complication of interests,' "as some keep objecting." If 'you believe that there is such a complication of interests,— 'why, then, in the name of God, that excites you the more 'to do it! Give me leave to tell you, I do not believe that 'in any war that ever was in former times, nor in any engage-

'ments that you have had with other "enemies," this Nation 'had more obligation upon it to look to itself,—to forbear 'waste of time, precious time! Needlessly to mind things 'that are not essential; to be quibbling about words, and 'comparatively about things of no moment; and in the 'mean time,—being in such a case as I suppose you know 'we are,—to suffer ourselves to be wanting to a just defence 'against the common Enemies abroad, or not to be thoroughly 'sensible of the Distempers that are at home [1]— !—I know, 'perhaps there are many considerations which may teach you, 'which may incline you, to keep your own hands tender from 'men of one Religion "with ourselves," [2] and of an Interest 'that is so spread in the Nation. However, if they seek the 'eradication of the Nation; if they be active as you have 'seen, and "as" it hath been made manifest so as not to 'be denied, to the carrying-on of their Designs; if England 'must be eradicated by persons complicated with the Spaniard; 'if this must be brought upon us through distempers and 'falseness of men among themselves,—then the question is 'no more than this: Whether any consideration whatsoever 'shall lead us, for fear of eradicating distempers, to suffer 'all the honest Interests of this Nation to be eradicated? 'Therefore, speaking generally of any of their distempers, '"which are" of all sorts,—where a member cannot be 'cured, the rule is plain, *Ense rescindendum est immedicabile 'vulnus*. And I think it is of such an advantage that nothing 'ever could more properly be put in practice [3] since this or 'any Nation "first" was.

'As to those lesser Distempers of people that pretend 'Religion, yet which from the whole consideration of Re- 'ligion, would fall under one of the heads of Reformation,—

[1] Original sentence incomplete; or tacked with radical incoherency to the foregoing: the sense, on either hypothesis, is very visible.

[2] Royalists, and other Discontented; Protestants, though Plotters.

[3] 'used' in orig.

'I had rather put these under this head;[1] and I shall the 'less speak to it, because you have been so well spoken-to 'already today "elsewhere." I will tell you the truth: Our 'practice since the last Parliament hath been, To let all this 'Nation see, that whatever pretensions to Religion would 'continue quiet, peaceable, they should enjoy conscience and 'liberty to themselves;—and *not* to make Religion a pretence 'for arms and blood. Truly we have suffered them, and that 'cheerfully, so to enjoy their own liberties. Whatsoever is 'contrary, "and not peaceable," let the pretence be never 'so specious,—if it tend to combination, to interests and 'factions, we shall not care, by the grace of God, *whom* we 'meet withal, though never so specious, "if they be not 'quiet"! And truly I am against all 'liberty of con-'science' repugnant to *this*. If men will profess,—be they 'those under Baptism, be they those of the Independent 'judgment simply, or of the Presbyterian judgment,—in the 'name of God, encourage them, countenance them; so long 'as they do plainly continue to be thankful to God, and to 'make use of the liberty given them to enjoy their own con-'sciences! For, as it was said today, undoubtedly '*this* is 'the peculiar Interest all this while contended for.' [*An excellent 'Interest'; very indispensable in a state of genuine Protestantism, which latter has itself for some time been indispensable enough.*]

'Men who believe in Jesus Christ—that is the Form that 'gives being to true religion, "namely," to Faith in Christ 'and walking in a profession answerable to that Faith;—'men who believe the remission of sins through the blood 'of Christ, and free justification by the blood of Christ; who 'live upon the grace of God: those men who are certain they 'are so [*Faith of assurance*],—"they" are members of Jesus 'Christ, and are to Him the apple of His eye. Whoever

[1] Of 'doing all we can for Security'; they will stand better under *this*, thinks his Highness. His Highness half-soliloquising, suddenly bethinking himself, again shows us a glimpse of his Speech in a state of genesis.

'hath this Faith, let his Form be what it will; he walketh 'peaceably, without prejudice to others under other Forms:— 'it is a debt due to God and Christ; and He will require it, 'if that Christian may not enjoy his liberty. [*True Tolerance; a noble thing: Patience, indifference as to the Unessential; liveliest impatience, inexorable* INTOLERANCE *for the Want of the Essential!*]

'If a man of one form will be trampling upon the heels of 'another form; if an Independent, for example, will despise 'him "who is" under Baptism, and will revile him, and 'reproach and provoke him, I will not suffer it in him. If, 'on the other side, those of the Anabaptist "judgment" 'shall be censuring the Godly Ministers of the Nation who 'profess under that of Independency; or if those that profess 'under Presbytery shall be reproaching or speaking evil of 'them, traducing and censuring of them,—as I would not be 'willing to see the day when England shall be in the power 'of the Presbytery to impose upon the consciences of others 'that profess faith in Christ,—so I will not endure any 'reproach to them. But God give us hearts and spirits to 'keep things *equal*. Which, truly I must profess to you, 'hath been my temper. I have had some boxes "on the 'ear," and rebukes,—on the one hand and on the other; 'some censuring me for Presbytery; others as an inletter to 'all the Sects and Heresies of the Nation. I have borne my 'reproach: but I have, through God's mercy, not been 'unhappy in hindering any one Religion to impose upon 'another. And truly I must needs say (I speak it experi-'mentally): I have found it, I have, that those of the 'Presbyterian judgment—['*Do themselves partly approve my plan,*' *he means to say; but starting off into broken sentences,* '*as he is liable to do, never says it*]——I speak it know-'ingly, as having received from very many Counties—I have had 'Petitions, and acknowledgments and professions, from whole 'Counties; as from Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and other 'Counties. Acknowledgments that they, "the Presbyterians

'there," do but desire they may have liberty and protection in 'the worshipping of God according to their own judgments; 'for the purging of their congregations, and the labouring 'to attain more purity of faith and repentance;—and that, 'in their outward profession, they will not strain themselves beyond their own line. I have had those Petitions; 'I have them to show. And I confess I look at that as the 'blessedest thing which hath been since the adventuring upon 'this Government, "or" which these times produce. And I hope 'I gave them fair and honest answers. And if it shall be found 'to *be* the Civil Magistrate's real endeavour to keep all professing Christians in this relation to one another; not suffering 'any to say or do what will justly provoke the others;—I 'think he that would have more liberty than this, is not 'worthy of any.

'This therefore I think verily, if it may be under consideration for Reformation:—I say, if it please God to give you 'and me hearts to keep *this* straight, "it may be a great 'means" in giving countenance to just Ministers,—[*In such semi-articulate uneasy way does his Highness hustle himself 'over into the discussion of a new Topic*]—in countenancing a 'just *maintenance* to them, by Tithes or otherwise. For my 'part I should think I were very treacherous if I took away 'Tithes, till I see the Legislative Power settle Maintenance 'to Ministers another way. But whoever they be that shall 'contend to destroy Tithes,—it doth as surely cut their "the 'Ministers" throats as it is a drift to take Tithes away before 'another mode of maintenance, or way of preparation towards 'such, be had. Truly I think all such practices and proceedings should be discountenanced. I have heard it from as 'gracious a Minister as any is in England; I have had it 'professed: That it would be a far greater satisfaction to 'them to have maintenance another way,—if the State will 'provide it. [*Sensation among the Voluntaries!——His Highness proceeds no farther in that direction at present. The next sentence suddenly drawing itself up into a heap;*

comprising both ideas, ‘ TITHES ’ *and* ‘ EQUALITY,’ *and in free-flowing half-articulate manner uttering them both at once, must be given precisely as it stands,—Grammar yielding place to something still needfuller, to* TRANSPARENCY *of Speech with* ‘ *or without grammar.*]— — Therefore I think, for the keep-
‘ ing of the Church and people of God and professors in their
‘ several forms in this liberty,—I think as it, “ this of tithes, or
‘ some other maintenance,” hath been a thing that is the root
‘ of visible Profession [*No public maintenance, no regular priest*],
‘ the upholding of this—I think you will find a blessing in it:
‘ —if God keep your hearts to keep things in this posture and
‘ balance, which is so honest and so necessary. [*Better keep-up Tithes, till we see !*]

‘ Truly, there might be some other things offered to you,
‘ in point of Reformation: a Reformation of Manners, to wit
‘ — — But I had forgot one thing which I must remember!
‘ It is the Church’s work, you know, in some measure: yet
‘ give me leave to ask, and I appeal unto your consciences,
‘ Whether or no there hath not been an honest care taken for
‘ the ejecting of Scandalous Ministers, and for the bringing-
‘ in of them that have passed an Approbation? [*Our two*
‘ *Commissions of Triers and Expurgators.*] I dare say, such
‘ an Approbation as never passed in England before! And
‘ give me leave to say, It hath been with this difference “ from
‘ the old practice,” that neither Mr. Parson nor Doctor in the
‘ University hath been reckoned stamp enough by those that
‘ made these Approbations;—though, I can say too, they have
‘ a great esteem for Learning; and look at Grace as most
‘ useful when it falls unto men *with* rather than without “ that
‘ addition ”; and wish, with all their hearts, the flourishing
‘ of all those Institutions of Learning, as much as any. I
‘ think there hath been a conscience exercised, both by myself
‘ and the Ministers, towards them that have been Approved.
‘ I may say, such an one, as I truly believe was never known
‘ in England, “ in regard to this matter.” And I do verily
‘ believe that God hath, for the Ministry, a very great seed

'in the youth "now" in the Universities; who instead of 'studying Books, study their own hearts. I do believe, as 'God hath made a very great and flourishing seed to that 'purpose; so this Ministry of England—I think in my very 'conscience that God will bless and favour it; and hath 'blessed it, to the gaining of very many souls. It was never 'so upon the thriving hand since England was, as at this 'day. Therefore I say, in these things, "in these arrange-'ments made by us," which tend to the profession of the 'Gospel and Public Ministry, "I think" you will be so far 'from hindering, that you will further them. And I shall be 'willing to join with you.

'I did hint to you my thoughts about the Reformation of 'Manners. And those abuses that are in this Nation through 'disorder, are a thing which should be much in your hearts. 'It is that which, I am confident, is a description and character 'of the Interest you have been engaged against, "the Cavalier 'Interest": the badge and character of countenancing Pro-'faneness, Disorder and Wickedness in all places,—[*A horrible 'character,' your Highness; not undeserved hitherto: and under* OUR *new Defender of the Faith* (*if you could see into futurity*) *what a height of evidence will it rise to!*]— 'and whatever is most of kin to these, and most agrees with 'what is Popery, and "with" the profane Nobility and Gentry 'of this Nation! In my conscience, it was a shame to be a 'Christian, within these fifteen, sixteen or seventeen years, in 'this Nation! Whether 'in Cæsar's house,' or elsewhere! 'It was a shame, it was a reproach to a man; and the badge of '''Puritan'' was put upon it.—We would keep up [*He bethinks 'him of the above word 'profane'*] Nobility and Gentry:— 'and the way to keep them up is, Not to suffer them to be 'patronisers or countenancers of debauchery and disorders! 'And you will hereby be as labourers in that work "of 'keeping them up." And a man may tell as plainly as can 'be what becomes of us, if we grow indifferent and lukewarm '"in repressing evil," under I know not what weak preten-

'sions. [*Yes, your Highness; even so,—were you and I in a minority of Two upon it! 'Merry Monarchs' of the Nell-Gywnn Defender kind, and the gallantest Sir Charles Sedleys in their tavern-balcony in Bow Street, are and remain a most mournful phenomenon to me; mournfuler than Death;—equal 'to Death with a Grimaldi-mask clapt on it!*] If it lives in 'us, therefore; I say, if it be in the general "heart of the 'Nation," it is a thing I am confident our liberty and 'prosperity depend upon,—Reformation. Make it a shame 'to see men bold in sin and profaneness, and God will bless 'you. You will be a blessing to the Nation; and by this, 'will be more repairers of breaches than by anything in the 'world. Truly these things do respect the souls of men, and 'the spirits,—which *are* the men. The mind is the man. 'If that be kept pure, a man signifies somewhat; if not, I 'would very fain see what difference there is betwixt him and 'a beast. He hath only some activity to do some more mis-'chief. [*A real 'Head of the Church' this 'King'; not an imaginary one!*]

'There are some things which respect the Estates of men; 'and there is one general Grievance in the Nation. It is the 'Law. ['*Hear, hear!' from all quarters of the Nation.*] Not 'that the Laws are a grievance; but there are Laws that are; 'and the great grievance lies in the execution and adminis-'tration. I think I may say it, I have as eminent Judges in 'this land as have been had, as the Nation has had, for these 'many years. [*Hale and others; yea!*]—Truly I could be 'particular, as to the executive part "of it," as to the 'administration "of the Law"; but that would trouble you. 'The truth of it is, There are wicked and abominable Laws, 'which "it" will be in your power to alter. To hang a 'man for Six-and-eightpence, and I know not what; to hang 'for a trifle, and acquit murder,—is in the ministration of 'the Law, through the ill-framing of it. I have known in 'my experience abominable murders acquitted. And to see 'men lose their lives for petty matters: this is a thing God

'will reckon for. [*Your Highness actually says so, believes 'so?*] And I wish it may not lie upon this Nation a day 'longer than you have an opportunity to give a remedy; and 'I hope I shall cheerfully join with you in it. This hath 'been a great grief to many honest hearts and conscientious 'people; and I hope it is in all your hearts to rectify it.

'I have little more to say to you, being very weary; and 'I know you are so "too." Truly I did begin with what I 'thought was "the means" to carry on this War (if you will 'carry it on), That we might join together in that vigor-'ously. And I did promise an answer to an objection: '"But what will you prosecute it with?" The State is 'hugely in debt; I believe it comes to —— [*Reporter cannot hear; on his Paper is mere Blank;—nay I think his Highness stutters, does not clearly articulate any sum.*] '—The Treasure of the State is run out. We shall not 'be an enemy to your inspection; but desire it,—that you 'should inspect the Treasury, and how moneys have been 'expended. And we are not afraid to look the Nation 'in the face upon this score. And therefore we will say 'negatively, *first*, No man can say we have misemployed 'the Treasures of this Nation, and embezzled it to parti-'cular and private uses.

'It may be we have not been,—as the world terms it, '—so fortunate in all our successes, "in the issues of all 'our attempts"? [*Hispaniola was a terrible affair, your Highness; and Jamaica is yet—a load to crush any but a 'Man of Hope!*] Truly if we are of mind that God may 'not decide for us in these things, I think we shall be 'quarrelling with what God "Himself" will answer "for." 'And we hope we are able,—it may be weakly, I doubt not '—to give an answer to God, and to give an answer to 'every man's conscience in the sight of God, of the reason 'of things. But we shall tell you, it— ['*It*,' *the principal* '*reason*' *we could give, was the Plotting of the Cavaliers; whereat his Highness bursts into sudden spontaneous combustion*

'*again!*]—was part of that Arch-Fire, which hath been 'in this your time; wherein there were flames good store, 'fire enough;—and it will be your wisdom and skill, and 'God's blessing upon you, to *quench* them both here and 'elsewhere! I say it again, our endeavours—by those that 'have been appointed, by those that have been Major-'Generals; I can repeat it with comfort,—they have been 'effectual for the Preservation of your Peace! [*What worlds of old terror, rage and endeavour, all dead now; what continents of extinct fire, of life-volcanoes once blazing, now sunk in eternal darkness, do we discern, with emotion, through 'this chance crevice in his Highness!*] It hath been more 'effectual toward the discountenancing of Vice and settling 'Religion, than anything done these fifty years: I will abide 'by it, notwithstanding the envy and slander of foolish men! '[*Poor Oliver, noble Oliver!*] But I say there was a Design '—I confess I speak that to you with a little vehemency— 'But you had not peace two months together, "nothing but 'plot after plot"; I profess I believe it as much as ever I did 'anything in the world: and how instrumental *they*, "these 'Major-Generals," have been to your peace and for your 'preservation, by such means,—which, we say, was Necessity! 'More "instrumental" than all instituted things in the 'world!——If you would make laws against whatever things 'God may please to send, "laws" to meet everything that may '*happen*,—you make a law in the face of God; you tell God 'you will meet all His dispensations, and will stay things 'whether He will or no![1] But if you make good laws of 'Government, that men may know how to obey and to act 'for Government, they may be laws that have frailty and 'weakness; ay, and "yet" good laws to be observed. But

[1] 'Laws against events,' insisted on before, p. 271. The 'event' there could be no law against beforehand, was the universal rising of the cutthroat Cavaliers; a thing not believed-in by the thickskinned, but too well known to his Highness as a terrible verity,—which the thickest skin would have got acquainted with, moreover, had it not been for him! Evidently a most provoking topic.

'if nothing should "ever" be done but what is 'according 'to Law,' the throat of the Nation may be cut while we 'send for some to make a Law! [*The Tyrant's plea?—Yes, and the true Governor's, my friend; for extremes meet.*] 'Therefore certainly it is a pitiful beastly notion to think, 'though it be for ordinary Government to live by law 'and rule, yet[1]—"if a Government in extraordinary cir- 'cumstances go beyond the law even for self-preservation, 'it is" to be clamoured-at, and blottered-at. [*His Highness still extremely animated; wants as if more tongues than 'one to speak all he feels!*] When matters of Necessity 'come, then without guilt extraordinary remedies may not 'be applied? Who can be so pitiful a person!—

'I confess, if Necessity be *pretended*, there is so much the 'more sin. A laying the irregularity of men's actions upon 'God as if He had sent a Necessity;—who doth indeed send 'Necessities! But to *anticipate* these—For as to an appeal 'to God, I own it, "own this Necessity," conscientiously to 'God; and the principles of Nature dictate the thing:—But 'if there be a *supposition*, I say, of a Necessity which is *not*, 'every *act* so done hath in it the more sin. This "whether 'in a given case, there *is* a Necessity or not," perhaps is 'rather to be disputed than otherwise: But I must say I do 'not know one action "of this Government," no not one, but 'it hath been in order to the peace and safety of the Nation. 'And the keeping of some in prison [*Lilburn, Wildman, Overton, Grey of Groby, Willoughby of Parham, occasionally Harrison and others: a fair stock of Prisoners up and down!*] 'hath been upon such clear and just grounds that no man 'can except against it. I know there are some imprisoned 'in the Isle of Wight, in Cornwall and elsewhere; and the 'cause of their imprisonment was, They were all found act- 'ing things which tended to the disturbance of the Peace 'of the Nation. Now these principles made us say to them:

[1] A small hiatus in the MS. (Burton, p. clxxii.), which imagination can easily fill.

'"Pray live quietly in your own countries: you shall not be 'urged with bonds or engagements, or to subscribe to the 'Government.' But they would not so much as say, 'We 'will promise to live peaceably.' If others are imprisoned, 'it is because they have done such things. And if other 'particulars strike,[1] we know what to say,—as having endea-'voured to walk as those that would not only give an account 'to God of their actings in Authority, but had "withal" to 'give an account of them to men. [*Anticlimax;—better than 'some climaxes; full of simplicity and discretion.*]

'I confess I have digressed much. [*Yes, your Highness; it has been a very loose-flowing Discourse;—like a big tide on 'shallow shores, with few banks or barriers!*]—I would not 'have you be discouraged if you think the State is exceeding 'poor. Give me leave to tell you, we have managed the 'Treasury not unthriftily, nor to private uses; but for the 'use of the Nation and Government;—and shall give you 'this short account. When the Long Parliament sat,[2] this 'Nation owed 700,000*l.* We examined it; it was brought 'unto that,—in that short Meeting "of the Little Parliament," 'within half a year after the Government came into our hands. 'I believe there was *more* rather than less. They the "Long-'Parliament people," had 120,000*l.* a-month; they had the 'King's, Queen's, Prince's, Bishops' Lands; all Delinquents' 'Estates, and the Dean-and-Chapter Lands;—which was a 'very rich Treasure. As soon as ever we came to the Govern-'ment, we abated 30,000*l.* the first half-year, and 60,000*l.* 'after. We had no benefits of those Estates, at all consider-'able [*Only the merest fractions of them remaining now unsold*]; 'I do not think, the fiftieth part of what they had:—and 'give me leave to tell you, *You are not so much in debt as we 'found you.*[3] We know it hath been maliciously dispersed, as 'if we had set the Nation into 2,500,000*l.* of debt: but I

[1] Means 'give offence.'

[2] Polite for 'ceased to sit.'

[3] Antea, p. 299.

'tell you, you are not so much in debt, by some thousands,—'I think I may say, by some hundreds of thousands! This is 'true that I tell you. We have honestly,—it may be not so 'wisely as some others would have done,—but with honest 'and plain hearts, laboured and endeavoured the disposal of 'Treasure to Public Uses; and laboured to pull off the 'common charge 60,000*l.* a-month, as you see. And if we 'had continued that charge that was left upon the Nation, 'perhaps we could have had as much money "in hand," as 'now we are in debt.—These things being thus, I did think 'it my duty to give you this account,—though it be weari-'some even to yourselves and to me.

'Now if I had the tongue of an Angel; if I was so 'certainly Inspired as the holy Men of God have been, I could 'rejoice, for your sakes, and for these Nations' sakes, and for 'the sake of God, and of His Cause which we have all been 'engaged in, if I could move affections in you to that which, 'if you do it, will save this Nation! If *not*,—you plunge it, 'to all human appearance, "it" and all Interests, yea and all 'Protestants in the world, into irrecoverable ruin!—

'Therefore I pray and beseech you, in the name of Christ, 'Show yourselves to be men; 'quit yourselves like men'! 'It doth not infer any reproach if you do show yourselves 'men: *Christian* men,—*which* alone *will* make you 'quit 'yourselves.' I do not think that, to this work you have 'in hand, a neutral spirit will do. That is a Laodicean 'spirit; and we know what God said of that Church: it was ''lukewarm,' and therefore He would 'spew it out of His 'mouth'! It is not a neutral spirit that is incumbent upon 'you. And if not a neutral spirit, it is much less a stupe-'fied spirit, inclining you, in the least disposition, the *wrong* 'way! Men are, in their private consciences, every day 'making shipwreck; and it's no wonder if these can shake 'hands with persons of reprobate Interests:—such, give me 'leave to think, are the Popish Interests. For the Apostle 'brands them so, 'having seared consciences.' Though I do

'not judge every man :—but the ringleaders[1] are such. The 'Scriptures foretold there should be such. It is not such 'a spirit that will carry this work on! It is men in a 'Christian state; who have *works* with *faith*; who know 'how to lay hold on Christ for remission "of sins," till a 'man be brought to 'glory in hope.' Such an hope kindled 'in men's spirits will actuate them to such ends as you are 'tending to: and so many as are partakers of that, and 'do own your standings,[2] wherein the Providence of God 'hath set and called you to this work, "so many" will 'carry it on.

'If men, through scruple, be opposite, you cannot take 'them by the hand to *carry* them "along with you,"—it 'were absurd: if a man be scrupling the plain truth before 'him, it is in vain to meddle with him. He hath placed 'another business in *his* mind; he is saying, 'Oh, if we could 'but exercise wisdom to gain Civil Liberty,—Religion would 'follow!' [*His Highness thinks Religion will* PRECEDE,—*as I hope thou also, in a sense, emphatically thinkest. His Highness does not much affect Constitution-builders, Oceana Harringtons, and Members of the Rota Club. Here, however, he has his eye principally upon the late Parliament, with 'its Constitution-pedantries and parchments.*] Certainly there 'are such men, who are not *maliciously* blind, whom God, for 'some cause, exercises. [*Yes, your Highness, we poor Moderns have had whole shoals of them, and still have,—in the later 'sections of that same "work" you are engaged in.*] It 'cannot be expected that they should do anything! [*Pro-'found silence.*] These men,—they must demonstrate that 'they are in bonds.——Could we have carried it thus far, 'if we had sat disputing in that manner? I must profess 'I reckon that difficulty more than all the wrestling with

[1] Of the Insurrectionary persons, and the general Miscellany who favour the Popish Interests; it is on these more than on Papists proper that his Highness is now again coming to glance.

[2] Present official positions.

'flesh and blood. [*What could so try one as that Pedant Parliament did; disputing, doling-out pennyweights of distilled constitution; and Penruddock, Charles Stuart, and the Spaniards waiting momentarily to come in, with Ate and the* 'Scarlet Woman *in their rear?*] Doubting, hesitating men, 'they are not fit for your work. You must not expect that 'men of hesitating spirits, under the bondage of scruples, will 'be able to carry-on this work, much less such as are merely 'carnal, natural; such as having an 'outward profession of 'Godliness,' whom the Apostle speaks of so often, 'are enemies 'to the cross of Christ; whose god is their belly; whose 'glory is in their shame; who mind earthly things.' [*A really frightful kind of character;—and not yet obsolete,* 'though its dialect is changed!] Do you think these men 'will rise to such a spiritual heat for the Nation as shall 'carry you a Cause like this; as will meet "and defy" all 'the oppositions that the Devil and wicked men can make? [*Not to* BE *expected, your Highness; not at all. And yet we, two-hundred years later, how do we go on expecting it,—by the aid of Ballot-boxes, Reform-Club Attorneys, etc. etc.!*]

'Give me leave to tell you,—those that are called to this 'work, it will not depend "for them" upon formalities, nor 'notions, nor speeches! [*A certain truculency on his High-*'*ness's visage.*] I do not look the work should be done 'by these. "No"; but by men of honest hearts, engaged 'to God; strengthened by Providence; enlightened in His 'words, to know His Word,—to which He hath set His 'Seal, sealed with the blood of His Son, with the blood 'of His Servants: *that* is such a spirit as will carry on this 'work. [*Scant in the Pedant Parliament, scant in the Rota Club; not to be found in the Reform-Club Attorney, or his Ballot-box, at all.*]

'Therefore I beseech you, do not dispute of unnecessary 'and unprofitable things which may divert you from carrying 'on so glorious a work as this is. I think *every* objection 'that ariseth is not to be answered; nor have I time for it.

'I say, Look up to God; have peace among yourselves. 'Know assuredly that if I have interest,[1] I am by the voice 'of the People the Supreme Magistrate [*We will have no 'disputing about that,—you are aware!*]; and, it may be, do 'know somewhat that might satisfy my conscience, if I stood 'in doubt! But it is a union, really it is a union, "this" 'between you and me: and both of us united in faith and 'love to Jesus Christ, and to His peculiar Interest in the 'world,—*that* must ground this work. And in *that*, if I have 'any peculiar Interest which is personal to myself, which is 'not subservient to the Public end,—it were not an extra-'vagant thing for me to *curse* myself: because I know God 'will curse me, if I have! [*Look in that countenance of his 'Highness!*] I have learned too much of God, to dally with 'Him, and to be bold with Him, in these things. And I 'hope I never shall be bold with Him;—though I can be 'bold with men, if Christ be pleased to assist!—

'I say, if there be love between us, so that the Nations[2] 'may say, 'These are knit together in one bond, to promote 'the glory of God against the Common Enemy; to suppress 'everything that is Evil, and encourage whatsoever is of God-'liness,'—yea, the Nation will bless you! And really that 'and nothing else will work-off these Disaffections from the 'minds of men; which are great,—perhaps greater than all 'the "other" oppositions you can meet with. I do know 'what I say. When I speak of these things, I speak my 'heart before God;—and, as I said before, I dare not be 'bold with Him. I have a little faith: I have a little lived 'by faith, and therein I may be 'bold.' If I spoke other 'than the affections and secrets of my heart, I know He 'would not bear it at my hands! [*Deep silence; his High-ness's voice, in sonorous bass, alone audible in the Painted 'Chamber.*] Therefore in the fear and name of God: Go 'on, with love and integrity, against whatever arises of con-'trary to those ends which you know and have been told of;

[1] Means 'if you see me in power.'

[2] The Three Nations.

'and the blessing of God go with you,—and the blessing of 'God *will* go with you! [*Amen!*]

'I have but one thing more to say. I know it is trouble-'some:—But I did read a Psalm yesterday; which truly 'may not unbecome both me to tell you of, and you to 'observe. It is the Eighty-fifth Psalm;[1] it is very instruc-'tive and significant: and though I do but a little touch 'upon it, I desire your perusal at pleasure. [*We will many of us read it, this night; almost all of us, with one view or the other;—and some of us may sing a part of it at evening worship.*]

'It begins: 'Lord, Thou hast been very favourable to Thy 'Land; Thou hast brought back the captivity of Jacob. 'Thou hast forgiven the iniquity of Thy People; Thou hast 'covered all their sin. Thou hast taken away all the fierce-'ness of Thy wrath: Thou hast turned Thyself from the 'fierceness of Thine anger. Turn us, O God of our salva-'tion, and cause Thine anger toward us to cease. Wilt Thou 'be angry with us forever; wilt Thou draw out Thine anger 'to all generations? Wilt Thou not revive us again, that 'Thy People may rejoice in Thee?' Then he calls upon 'God as 'the God of his salvation,'[2] and then saith he: 'I 'will hear what God the Lord will speak: for He will speak 'peace unto His people, and to His Saints; but let them 'not turn again to folly. Surely His Salvation is nigh 'them that fear Him;' Oh—'that glory may dwell in 'our Land! Mercy and Truth are met together; Righteous-'ness and Peace have kissed each other. Truth shall spring 'out of the Earth, and Righteousness shall look down 'from Heaven. Yea, the Lord shall give that which is 'good, and our Land shall yield her increase. Righteous-

[1] Historical: Tuesday, 16th Sept. 1656; Oliver Protector reading the Eighty-fifth Psalm in Whitehall. We too might read it; but as his Highness recites it all here except one short verse, it is not so necessary.

[2] Verse 7, 'Show us Thy mercy, O Lord, and grant us Thy salvation.'

'ness shall go before Him, and shall set us in the way 'of His steps.' [*What a vision of celestial hope is this! vista into Lands of Light; God's Will done on Earth; this poor English Earth an Emblem of Heaven; where God's Blessing reigns supreme; where ghastly Falsity and brutal Greed and Baseness, and Cruelty and Cowardice, and Sin and Fear, and all the Hell-dogs of Gehenna shall lie chained under our feet; and Man, august in divine manhood, shall step victorious over them, heavenward, like a god! O Oliver, I could weep,—and yet it steads not. Do not I too look into 'Psalms,' into a kind of Eternal Psalm, unalterable as adamant,—which the whole world yet will look into? Courage, my brave one!*]

'Truly I wish that this Psalm, as it is written in the 'Book, might be better written in our hearts. That we 'might say as David, '*Thou* hast done this,' and 'Thou 'hast done that'; 'Thou hast pardoned our sins; Thou hast 'taken away our iniquities'! Whither can we go to a better 'God? For 'He hath done it.' It is to Him any Nation 'may come in their extremity, for the taking away of His 'wrath. How did He do it? 'By pardoning their sins, 'by taking away their iniquities'! If we can but cry unto 'Him, He will 'turn and take away *our* sins.'—Then let us 'listen to Him. Then let us consult, and meet in Parlia-'ment; and ask Him counsel, and hear what He saith, 'for 'He will speak peace unto His People.' If you be the People 'of God, He will speak *peace*;—and we will not turn again 'to folly.

''Folly': a great deal of grudging in the Nation that we 'cannot have our horse-races, cock-fightings, and the like! '[*Abolished, suspended, for good reasons!*] I do not think 'these are lawful, except to make them recreations. That we 'will not endure "for necessary ends" [*For preventing Royalist 'Plots, and suchlike*] to be abridged of them:—Till God hath 'brought us to another spirit than this, He will not bear with 'us. Ay, 'but He bears with them in France'; 'they in

'France are so and so'!—Have they *the Gospel* as we have? 'They have seen the sun but a little; we have great lights. '— — — If God give you a spirit of Reformation, you will 'preserve this Nation from 'turning again' to those fooleries: '—and what will the end be? Comfort and blessing. Then ''Mercy and Truth shall meet together.' Here is a great 'deal of 'truth' among professors, but very little 'mercy'! 'They are ready to cut the throats of one another. But 'when we are brought into the right way, we shall be *merci-'ful* as well as orthodox: and we know who it is that saith, ''If a man could speak with the tongues of men and angels, 'and yet want *that*, he is but sounding brass and a tinkling 'cymbal!'—

'Therefore I beseech you in the name of God, set your 'hearts to this "work." And if you set your hearts to it, 'then you will sing Luther's Psalm.[1] That is a rare Psalm 'for a Christian!—and if he set his heart open, and can 'approve it to God, we *shall* hear him say, 'God is our 'refuge and strength, a very present help in time of trouble.' 'If Pope and Spaniard, and Devil and all, set themselves 'against us,—though they should 'compass us like bees,' 'as it is in the Hundred-and-eighteenth Psalm,—yet in the

[1] Psalm Forty-sixth; of which Luther's Paraphrase, *Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott*, is still very celebrated. Here is the original Psalm:

'God is our refuge and strength; a very present help in trouble; therefore we will not fear,—though the Earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea: though the waters roar and be troubled, though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof!

'There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the City of God, the Holy Place of the Tabernacles of the Most High. God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved: God shall help her, and that right early. The Heathen raged, the Kingdoms were moved: He uttered His voice, the Earth melted. The Lord of Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge.

'Come behold the works of the Lord, what desolations He hath made in the Earth! He maketh wars to cease unto the ends of the Earth; He breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; He burneth the chariot in the fire:—Be still, and know that I am God; I will be exalted among the Heathen, I will be exalted in the Earth! The Lord of Hosts is with us: the God of Jacob is our refuge.'

'name of the Lord we should destroy them! And, as it is 'in this Psalm of Luther's: 'We will not fear, though the 'Earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried 'into the middle of the sea; though the waters thereof 'roar and be troubled; though the mountains shake with 'the swelling thereof.' [*A terrible scene indeed:—but there is something in the Heart of Man, then, greater than any 'scene'; which, in the Name of the Highest, can defy any 'scene' or terror whatsoever? 'Yea,' answers the Hebrew David; 'Yea,' answers the German Luther; 'Yea,' the English Cromwell. The Ages responsive to one another; soul hailing soul across the dead Abysses; deep calling unto 'deep.*] 'There is a river, the streams whereof shall make 'glad the City of God. God is in the midst of her; she 'shall not be moved.' [*No!*] Then he repeats two or three 'times, 'The Lord of Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is 'our refuge.' [*What are the King of Spain, Charles Stuart, Joseph Wagstaff, Chancellor Hyde, and your triple-hatted Chimera at Rome? What is the Devil in General; for that matter,—the still very extensive Entity called 'Devil,' with all the force he can raise?*]

'I have done. All I have to say is, To pray God that He 'may bless you with His presence; that He who hath your 'hearts and mine would show His presence in the midst of us.

'I desire you will go together, and choose your Speaker.*

The latest of the Commentators expresses himself in reference to this Speech in the following singular way:

'No Royal Speech like this was ever delivered elsewhere in the world! It is,—with all its prudence, and it is very prudent, sagacious, courteous, right royal in spirit,—perhaps the most artless transparent piece of Public Speaking this Editor has ever studied. Rude, massive, genuine; like a block of unbeaten gold. A Speech not so fit for Drury Lane,

* *Burton's Diary*, i., Introd. pp. clviii.-clxxix. (from Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 6125).

as for Valhalla, and the Sanhedrim of the Gods. The man himself, and the England he presided over, there and then, are to a singular degree visible in it; open to our eyes, to our sympathies. He who would see Oliver, will find more of him here than in most of the history-books yet written about him.

'On the whole, the cursory modern Englishman cannot be expected to read this Speech:—and yet it is pity; the Speech might do him good, if he understood it. We shall not again hear a Supreme Governor talk in this strain: the dialect of it is very obsolete; much more than the grammar and diction, forever obsolete,—not to my regret the dialect of it. But the spirit of it is a thing that should never have grown obsolete. The spirit of it will have to revive itself again; and shine out in *new* dialect and vesture, in infinitely wider compass, wide as God's known Universe *now* is,—if it please Heaven! Since that spirit went obsolete, and men took to "dallying" with the Highest, to "being bold" with the Highest, and not "bold with men" (only Belial, and not "Christ" in any shape, assisting them), we have had but sorry times, in Parliament and out of it. There has not been a Supreme Governor worth the meal upon his periwig, in comparison,—since this spirit fell obsolete. How could there? Belial is a desperately-bad sleeping-partner in any concern whatever! Cant did not ever yet, that I know of, turn ultimately to a good account, for any man or thing. May the Devil swiftly be compelled to call-in large masses of our current stock of Cant, and withdraw it from circulation! Let the people "run for gold," as the Chartists say; demand Veracity, Performance, instead of mealy-mouthed Speaking; and force him to recall his Cant. Thank Heaven, stern Destiny, merciful were it even to death, does now compel them verily to "run for gold": Cant in all directions is swiftly ebbing into the Bank *it* was issued by.'—

Speech being ended, the Honourable Members 'went to

the House,' says Bulstrode;[1] and in the Lobby, with considerable crowding I think, 'received, from the Chancery Clerk, Certificates in this form,'—for instance:

'COUNTY OF BUCKS. *These are to certify that*' Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke '*is returned by Indenture one of the Knights to serve in this present Parliament for the said County, and approved by his Highness's Counsel.* NATH. TAYLER, *Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery.*'

Mr. Tayler has received Four-hundred 'Indentures' from Honourable Gentlemen; but he does not give out Four-hundred 'Certificates,' he only gives Three-hundred and odd. Nearly One-hundred Honourable Gentlemen can get no Certificate from Mr. Tayler,—none provided for *you*;—and without Certificate there is no admittance. Soldiers stand ranked at the door; no man enters without his Certificate! Astonishing to see. Haselrig, Scott and the stiff Republicans, Ashley Cooper and the turbulent persons, who might have leavened this Parliament into strange fermentation, cannot, it appears, get in! No admittance here: saw Honourable Gentlemen ever the like?—

The most flagrant violation of the Privileges of Parliament that was ever known! exclaim they. A sore blow to Privilege indeed. With which the Honourable House, shorn of certain limbs in this rude way, knows not well what to do. The Clerk of the Commonwealth, being summoned, answers what he can; Nathaniel Fiennes, for the Council of State, answers what he can: the Honourable House, actually intent on Settling the Nation, has to reflect that in real truth this will be a great furtherance thereto; that matters do stand in an anomalous posture at present; that the Nation should and must be settled. The Honourable House, with an effort, swallows this injury; directs the petitioning Excluded Members 'to apply to the Council.'[2] The Excluded Members, or some one Excluded Member, redacts an indignant Protest,

[1] Whitlocke, p. 639.

[2] *Commons Journals*, vii. 424-6 (Sept. 18th 22d)

with all the names appended;[1] prints it, privately circulates it, 'in boxes sent by carriers, a thousand copies in a box':—and there it rests; his Highness saying nothing to it; the Honourable House and the Nation saying nothing. In this Parliament, different from the last, we trace a real desire for Settlement.

As the power of the Major-Generals, 'in about two months hence,'[2] or three months hence, was, on hint of his Highness himself, to the joy of Constitutional England, withdrawn, we may here close *Part Ninth*. Note first, however, as contemporary with this event, the glorious news we have from Blake and Montague at sea; who, in good hour, have at last got hold of a Spanish Fleet, and in a tragic manner burnt it, and taken endless silver therein.[3] News of the fact comes in the beginning of October: in the beginning of November comes, as it were, the fact itself,—some Eight-and-thirty wagonloads of real silver: triumphantly jingling up from Portsmouth, across London pavements to the Tower, to be coined into current English money there. The Antichrist King of Spain has lost Lima by an earthquake, and infinite silver there also. Heaven's vengeance seems awakening. 'Never,' said the old Newspapers,[4] 'never was there a more terrible visible Hand of God in judgment upon any People, since the time of Sodom and Gomorrah! Great is the Lord; marvellous are His doings, and to be had in reverence of all the Nations.' England holds universal Thanksgiving Day; sees Eight-and-thirty wagonloads of silver, sees hope of Settlement, sees Major-Generals abolished; and piously blesses Heaven.

[1] Copy of it and them in *Whitlocke*, pp. 641-3; see also *Thurloe*, v. 456, 490.

[2] Kimber, p. 211. The real date and circumstances may be seen in *Burton's Diary*, i. 310 (7th Jan. 1656-7), *Commons Journals*, vii. 483 (29th Jan.); compared with Ludlow, ii. 581-2. See Godwin, iv. 328.

[3] Captain Stayner's Letter (9th Sept. 1656, *Thurloe*, v. 399); General Montague's Letter (*ib.* p. 433); Whitlocke, p. 643; etc.

[4] 6th October (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 160).

ADJOINED TO VOLUME THIRD

LIST OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT
LISTS OF THE EASTERN-ASSOCIATION COMMITTEES

LIST OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT

In the old *Parliamentary History*,[1] and in other Books, is given, 'compiled from the Chancery Records and Commons Journals,' a List of the Long-Parliament Members, arranged according to their Counties and Boroughs; which is very welcome to the historical inquirer. But evidently, for every purpose of historical inquiry connected with this Period, there is needed farther,—if not some well-investigated brief 'Biographical Dictionary of the Long-Parliament Members,' such as the pious historical student is free to imagine for himself, but will not soon get,—at least and lowest, some Alphabetical List of their Names; the ready index and memento of a great many things to us. As no such List was anywhere discoverable, I had to construct one for my own behoof; a process by no means difficult in proportion to its usefulness, the facts being already all given in the extant List by Places, and only requiring to be rearranged for the new object of a List by Names. This latter List, after long doing duty in the manuscript state, is now, for the use of others, appended here in print,—there being accidentally a corner of room for it in this New Edition.

It is not vitally connected with Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches; yet neither is it quite without relation to the man. Here are the Names of some five or six hundred men, whom Oliver Cromwell sat in view of, and worked along with, through certain years of time in this world; their Names and Localities, if we have nothing more. More is attainable concerning several of them, and is very well worth attaining; but little more, to the general reader, is yet attained. Featureless, to the general reader; little other than ticketed shadows, a strange sanhedrim of

[1] London, 1763, ix. 12-57.

phantoms, most of these men;—not unlikely all of them to become shadows and invisible, except where kindled by some contact with this the luminous and living one! Here are their Names, at whatever worth the reader may put upon them: 'adjoined' to the Name of Oliver in this place, but capable of being disjoined again; and perhaps worth printing, there being a corner of room for them.

What is a more questionable point, this List I am aware is not quite free from errors; one or two of which it has even fallen in my own way not only to surmise, but to prosecute to their source, and correct. Numerous I do not suppose them to be, nor important: but I cannot certify that there are none; nor help farther in removing what there may be. The List itself, once printed, offers to all studious persons the opportunity to help; which certainly it would be a beneficence of its sort if some strict antiquary, or series of antiquaries, would effectually do. The constituent elements of the 'most remarkable Parliament that ever sat,'—which indeed is definable as the Father of Parliaments which first rendered Parliaments supreme, and has since set the whole world upon chase of Parliaments, a notable speculation very lively in most parts of Europe at this day,—deserve at least to have their names accurately given. They deserve, and perhaps they will one day get, much more; they deserve a History, constitutional, biographical, political, practical, picturesque, better than most Entities that yet have one among us; and, in all points of view, they will be found *not* imaginary but real, and well worth remembering and attending to. Meanwhile in the absence of all History, constitutional or other, of the Long Parliament, let this imperfect foreshadow of the incipiency of one be welcome.

The asterisk*, prefixed to a Member's name, denotes that he was a "Recruiter" (see *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i. p. 243), not an original Member: 'disab.' means *disabled*, declared incapable of sitting henceforth, for some reason, generally for *Royalism*, for desertion to the King; the year when, is also indicated. 'King's judge' is one nominated to that office, and only in part or not at all risking to perform it; 'regicide' is one who performed and completed it, who signed the Death-warrant: both titles, I find, are now and then, especially in the cases where nothing not already known was to be learned from them, omitted in this List. Other contractions will probably require no explanation.

Abbot, George, Esq. (dead '45) . .	Guildford
*Abbot, George, Esq.	Tamworth
Acton, Sir Edward, Knight (disab. '44) .	Bridgnorth
Aldburgh, Richard, Esq. (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition)	Aldborough, Yorkshire
*Aldworth, Richard, Esq. . . .	Bristol

Alford, Sir Edward, Knight (disab. '44)	Arundel
Alford, Sir Edward, Knight (void, though twice)	Tewkesbury
Alford, John, Esq.	Shoreham
Allanson, Sir William, Knight (King's judge)	York
*Allen, Francis, Esq. (King's judge)	Cockermouth
*Allen, Matthew, Esq.	Weymouth
Allestre, William, Esq. (Recorder; disab.)	Derby
Alured, John, Esq. (regicide)	Heydon, Yorkshire
Anderson, Sir Henry, Knight (disab. '44)	Newcastle-on-Tyne
Andover, Charles, Viscount (e. s. of E. of Berkshire; made Peer '40, in his father's lifetime)	Oxford
*Andrews, Robert, Esq.	Weobly, Herefordshire
*Anlaby, John, Esq. (King's judge)	Scarborough
*Annesley, Arthur, Esq.	Radnorshire
*Apsley, Edward, Esq.	Steyning
Armyn, Sir William, Bart. (King's judge)	Grantham
*Armyn, William, Esq. (since '45)	Cumberland
*Arthington, Henry, Esq.	Pontefract
Arundel, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	(St. Michaels, *but preferred*) Bodmin
*Arundel, John, Esq.	West Looe
Arundel, Richard, Esq. (disab. '44).	Lostwithiel
*Arundel, Thomas, Esq. (died)	West Looe
Arundel, Thomas, Esq.	West Looe
*Ash, James, Esq.	Bath
Ashburnham, John, Esq. (disab '44)	Hastings
Ashburnham, William, Esq. (army-plot '41 expelled)	Ludgershall, Wilts
Ashe, Edward, Esq.	Heytesbury, Wilts
Ashe, John, Esq.	Westbury, Wilts
Ashton, Ralph, Esq.	Clithero
Ashton, Sir Ralph, Baronet	Lancashire
Ashurst, William, Esq.	Newton, Lancashire
*Atkins, Thomas, Esq. (King's judge)	Norwich
Ayscough, Sir Edward, Knight	Lincolnshire
*Ayscough, William, Esq.	Thirsk
*Bacon, Francis, Esq.	Ipswich
*Bacon, Nathaniel, Esq.	Cambridge University
*Bagot, Sir Harvey, Knight (disab. '42)	Staffordshire
Bagshaw, Edward, Esq. (disab, '44)	Southwark

*Baker, John, Esq.	East Grinstead
Baldwin, Charles, Esq. (disab. '44)	Ludlow
*Ball, John, Esq. (dead '48)	Abingdon
Bampfield, Sir John, Baronet	Wallingford
Barker, Anthony, Esq. (void)	Penryn
Barker, John, Esq., Alderman	Coventry
Barnardiston, Sir Nathaniel, Knight	Suffolk
*Barnardiston, Sir Thomas, Knight	Bury St. Edmunds
Barnham, Sir Francis, Knight (dead '46)	Maidstone
*Barrington, Sir John, Baronet (King's judge)	Newton, Hants
Barrington, Sir Thomas, Baronet (dead '44)	Colchester
*Barrow, Morris, Esq.	Eye, Suffolk
Barwis, Richard, Esq. (died)	Carlisle
Basset, William, Esq. (disab. '44)	Bath
Baynton, Sir Edward, Knight (King's judge)	Chippenham
Baynton, Sir Edward, Knight	Devizes
Bedingfield, Sir Anthony, Knight	Dunwich
Bell, William, Esq.	Westminster
Bellasis, Henry, Esq. (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition)	Yorkshire
Bellasis, John, Esq. (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition; made Lord '44)	Thirsk
Bellingham, Sir Henry, Bart. (disab. '45)	Westmoreland
*Bellingham, James, Esq.	Westmoreland
Bence, Squire, Esq.	Aldborough, Suffolk
*Bence, Alexander, Esq. (succeeded Rainsborough)	Aldborough, Suffolk
*Bendlowes, Sir Robert, Knight	Lancaster
*Bennet, Thomas, Esq. (dead '44)	Hindon, Wilts
Benson, Henry, Esq. (expelled '41, for selling protections)	Knaresborough.
Berkeley, Sir Henry, Knight (void)	Ilchester
*Biddulph, Michael, Esq.	Lichfield
*Bingham, John, Esq.	Shaftesbury
*Birch, John, Esq. (the Colonel; Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part ii. p. 34)	Leominster
*Birch, Thomas, Esq. (from Oct. '49)	Liverpool
Bishop, Sir Edward, Knight (void)	Bramber
*Blackiston, John, Esq. (regicide)	Newcastle-on-Tyne
*Blagrave, Daniel, Esq. (regicide)	Reading

*Blake, Robert, Esq. (the Admiral)	Taunton
Bludworth, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab.)	Reigate
Bodville, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	Anglesea
Bond, Dennis, Esq. (King's judge)	Dorchester
*Bond, John, LL.D.	Melcomb Regis
*Boone, Thomas, Esq. (King's judge)	Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness, (Devonshire, *united*)
*Booth, George, Esq. (May '46)	Cheshire
*Booth, John, Esq.	Portsmouth
*Borde, Herbert, Esq. (died)	Steyning
Borlace, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	Corfe Castle
Borlace, John, Esq. (void)	Marlow
*Boscawen, Hugh, Esq.	Cornwall
*Bosville, Godfrey, Esq. (King's judge)	Warwick
*Boughton, Thomas, Esq.	Warwickshire
*Bourchier, Sir John, Knight (regicide)	Ripon
Bowyer, Sir Thomas, Baronet (disab. '42, for Chichester garrison)	Bramber
Bowyer, Sir William, (died '40)	Staffordshire
*Bowyer, John, Esq.	Staffordshire
Boyle, Richard, Viscount Dungarvon, (e. s. of E. of Cork, whom he succeeded in '43; disab. '43)	Appleby
*Boynton, Sir Matthew, Baronet (dead '47)	Scarborough
Boys, Sir Edward, Knight (dead '46)	Dover
*Boys, John, Esq.	Kent
Brereton, Sir William, Bart. (King's judge)	Cheshire
Brett, Henry, Esq. (disab.)	Gloucester
*Brewster, Robert, Esq.	Dunwich
Bridgeman, Orlando, Esq. (Lawyer, see *D'Ewes*, 118; disab. for assisting Lord Strange '42)	Wigan
*Briggs, Sir Humphrey, Knight	Great Wenlock
Brooke, Sir John, Knight (disab. '43, for raising money in Lincolnshire)	Appleby
*Brooke, Peter, Esq.	Newton, Lancashire
Brown, Sir Ambrose, Baronet	Surrey
*Brown, Richard, Esq.	Romney
*Brown, Major-Gen. Richard (disab. '49)	Wycombe
Brown, Samuel, Esq.	Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness (*united*)
*Browne, John, Esq. (King's judge)	Dorsetshire
Broxholme, John, Esq. (dead '47)	Lincoln

Buckhurst, Lord Richard (e. s. of E. of Dorset, disab. '44)	(Steyning, Sussex, *but prefers*) East Grinstead
*Bulkeley, John, Esq.	Newton, Hants
Buller, Francis, Esq.	East Looe
Buller, George, Esq. (died)	Saltash
Buller, Sir Richard, Knight (dead '46)	Fowey
*Burgoyne, Sir John, Baronet	Warwickshire
*Burgoyne, Sir Roger, Baronet	Bedfordshire
Burrel, Abraham, Esq. (King's judge)	Huntingdon
Button, John, Esq.	Lymington
Byshe, Edward, junior, Esq.	Bletchingley
Cage, William, Esq. (dead '44)	Ipswich
Campbell, James, Esq.	Grampound
Campion, Henry, Esq.	Lymington
Capel, Arthur, Esq. (created Lord '41)	Hertfordshire
Carew, Sir Alexander (treachery of Plymouth; beheaded '44)	Cornwall
*Carew, John, Esq. (regicide)	Tregony, Cornwall
*Carew, William, Esq.	Milborn Port
Carnaby, Sir William, Knight (disab. '42)	Morpeth
Catalyn, Richard, Esq. (disab. '44)	Norwich
Cave, Sir Richard, Knight (disab. '42)	Lichfield
Cawley, William, Esq. (regicide)	Midhurst, Sussex
Cecil, Robert, Esq. (2d s. of E. of Salisbury)	Old Sarum
*Celya, Thomas, Esq.	Bridport, Dorsetshire
*Chadwell, William, Esq. (disab. '44)	St. Michaels, Cornwall
*Challoner, James, Esq. (King's judge)	Aldborough, Yorkshire
*Challoner, Thomas, Esq. (regicide)	Richmond, Yorkshire
*Charlton, Robert, Esq.	Bridgnorth
Chaworth, Dr. (not duly)	Midhurst, Sussex
Cheeke, Sir Thomas, Knight	(Beeralston, Devon, *but preferred*) Harwich
*Chettle, Francis, Esq.	Corfe Castle
Cheyne, William, Esq. (died)	Amersham
Chichely, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '42)	Cambridgeshire
Cholmley, Sir Hugh (disab. '43)	Scarborough
*Cholmley, Thomas, Esq.	Carlisle
Chomley, Sir Henry, Knight	Northallerton
*Clark, Samuel, Esq.	Exeter
*Clement, Gregory, Esq. (regicide; disab. '52)	Camelford

Clifton, Sir Gervase, Baronet (disab.)	East Retford
Clinton, Lord Edward (e. s. of E. of Lincoln)	St. Michaels, Cornwall
*Clive, Robert, Esq.	Bridgnorth
Clotworthy, Sir John, Knight (disab. one of the 11)	(Bossiney, Cornwall, *but prefers*) Malden, Essex
Coke, Henry, Esq. (disab. '42)	Dunwich
Coke, Sir John, Knight	Derbyshire
Colepepper, Sir John, Knight (disab. '44; made Lord 21 Oct. '44)	Kent
Combe, Edward, Esq. (void)	Warwickshire
Compton, Lord James, (e. s. of E. of Northampton; disab.)	Warwickshire
Coningsby, Fitzwilliam, Esq. (disab. '41, monopolist)	Herefordshire
*Coningsby, Humphrey, Esq. (disab. '46)	Herefordshire
*Constable, Sir William, Baronet (regicide; instead of Benson the jobber, and in preference to Deerlove, '42)	Knaresborough
Constantine, William, Esq. (disab. '43)	Poole
Cook, Sir Robert, Knight (died)	Tewkesbury
Cook, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44)	Leicester
*Copley, Lionel, Esq. (disab. with the 11)	Bossiney
*Corbet, John, Esq. (King's judge)	Bishop's Castle, Salop
*Corbet, Sir John, Baronet	Shropshire
Corbet, Miles, Esq. (regicide)	Yarmouth
Cornwallis, Sir Frederick, Baronet (disab. '42, for sending Officers from Holland)	Eye, Suffolk
Coryton, William, Esq. (not duly)	Launceston, *alias* Dunchevit
*Coventry, John, Esq. (2d s. of late Lord Keeper, disab. '42)	Evesham
Cowcher, John, Esq.	Worcester
Cradock, Matthew, Esq. (died '40)	London
Cranbourne, Viscount Charles (e. s. of E. of Salisbury)	Hertford
Crane, Sir Robert, Baronet (dead '44)	Sudbury
Craven, John, Esq. (void; made Baron Craven 21 March '43)	Tewkesbury
Creswell, Sergeant Richard	Evesham
Crew, John, Esq.	Brackley
Crispe, Sir Nicholas, Knight (expelled '41, for monopoly in copperas)	Winchelsea

*Crompton, Thomas, Esq. . . .	Staffordshire
Cromwell, Oliver, Esq.	Cambridge
*Cromwell, Richard, Esq. . . .	Portsmouth
Crooke, Sir Robert, Knight (disab. '43) .	Wendover, Bucks
*Crowther, William, Esq. . . .	Weobly
*Crynes, Elizeus, Esq.	Tavistock
Curwen, Sir Patricius, Baronet (disab. '44)	Cumberland
Curzon, Sir John, Baronet . . .	Derbyshire
*Dacres, Sir Thomas, Knight (instead of Capel)	Hertfordshire
*Dacres, Thomas, Esq.	Kellington
Dalston, Sir George, Knight (disab. '44) .	Cumberland
Dalston, Sir William, Baronet (disab. '44)	Carlisle
Danby, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition)	Richmond, Yorkshire
*Danvers, Sir John, Knight (E. Danby's brother; regicide)	Malmesbury
*Darley, Henry, Esq.	Malton
*Darley, Richard, Esq. (King's judge) .	Northallerton
Davies, Matthew, Esq. (disab. '43) . .	Christchurch, Hants
*Davies, William, Esq.	Carmarthen
Deering, Sir Edward, Baronet (disab. '42, for printing his speeches) . .	Kent
*Deerlove, William, Esq. (void) . .	Knaresborough
Denton, Sir Alexander, Knight (disab. '44)	Buckingham
*Devereux, George, Esq. . . .	Montgomery
D'Ewes, Sir Simond, Baronet . . .	Sudbury
Digby, Lord George (e. s. of E. of Bristol; till 10 June '41, writ to House of Peers)	(Milborn Port, *but preferred*) Dorsetshire
Digby, John, Esq. (disab. '42) . .	Milborn Port
Dives, Sir Lewis, Knight (disab.) . .	Bridport
*Dixwell, John, Esq. (regicide) . .	Dover
*Dobins, Daniel, Esq.	Bewdley
*Dodderidge, John, Esq. . . .	Barnstaple
*Dormer, John, Esq. (in '46) . . .	Buckingham
*Dove, John, Esq. (King's judge) . .	Salisbury
*Downes, John, Esq. (regicide) . .	Arundel
*Dowse, Edward, Esq. (dead '48) . .	Portsmouth
*Doyley, John, Esq.	Oxford
Drake, Sir William, Knight . . .	Amersham, Bucks
*Drake, Francis, Esq.	Amersham

*Drake, Sir Francis, Baronet	Beeralston
Dryden, Sir John, Baronet	Northamptonshire
Dunch, Edmund, Esq.	Wallingford
Dutton, John, Esq. (disab.)	Gloucestershire
*Earle, Erasmus, Esq.	Norwich
Earle, Thomas, Esq.	Wareham, Dorset
Earle, Sir Walter, Knight	Weymouth
Eden, Thomas, LL.D. (dead in '44)	Cambridge University
Edgecombe, Piers, Esq. (disab. '44)	Camelford
Edgecumbe, Richard, Esq. (disab.)	Newport, Cornwall
*Edwards, Humphrey, Esq. (regicide)	Shropshire
*Edwards, Richard, Esq. (Nov. '50)	Bedford
*Edwards, Richard, Esq.	Christchurch, Hants
*Edwards, William, Esq.	Chester
*Egerton, Sir Charles, Knight	Ripon
*Elford, John, Esq.	Tiverton
Ellis, William, Esq.	Boston
*Ellison, Robert, Esq.	Newcastle-on-Tyne
Erisy, Richard, Esq.	St. Mawes, Cornwall
Eure, Sergeant Samuel (disab. '44)	Leominster
*Evelyn, George, Esq.	Reigate
Evelyn, Sir John, Knight	Bletchingley, Surrey
Evelyn, Sir John, Knight	Ludgershall, Wilts
Eversfield, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab. '44)	Hastings
Exton, Edward, Esq.	Southampton
*Fagg, John, Esq. (King's judge)	Rye
Fairfax, Lord Ferdinando (died '47)	Yorkshire
*Fairfax, Sir Thomas, Knight (from 7 Feb. '49)	Cirencester
Falkland, Lord, (disab. '42, killed at Newbery, Sept. '43)	Newport, Wight
Fanshaw, Sir Thomas, K.B. (disab. '43)	Hertford
Fanshaw, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab. '42)	Lancaster
*Fell, Thomas, Esq. (after Fanshaw)	Lancaster
Fenwick, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	Morpeth
*Fenwick, George, Esq. (King's judge)	Morpeth
Fenwick, Sir John, Knight (disab. '44)	(Cockermouth, *but preferred*) Northumberland
*Fenwick, William, Esq.	Northumberland
Fernfold, Sir Thomas (dead '45)	Steyning
Ferrers, Richard, Esq. (disab.)	Barnstaple
Fettiplace, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	Berkshire
*Fielder, John, Esq.	St. Ives, Cornwall

Fiennes, Hon. James (e. s. of 'Old Subtlety,' Say and Seale) . . .	Oxfordshire
*Fiennes, Hon. John (3d s. of Subtlety) .	Morpeth
Fiennes, Hon. Nathaniel (2d s. of Subtlety)	Banbury
Finch, Sir John, Knight (dead '44) .	Winchelsea
Fitzwilliam, Hon. William (e. s. of Lord Visc. Fitzwilliam; till Jan. '44) .	Peterborough
*Fleetwood, Charles, Esq. . . .	Marlborough
*Fleetwood, George, Esq. (regicide; succeeded Goodwin, '45) . . .	Buckinghamshire
Fleetwood, Sir Miles, Knight (died) .	Hindon, Wilts
Fountaine, Thomas, Esq. (in place of Hampden; dead '46) . . .	Wendover
*Fowel, Edmund, Esq.	Tavistock
Fowel, Sir Edmund, Knight . . .	Ashburton
*Foxwist, William, Esq.	Carnarvon
Franklyn, John, Esq. (dead '45) . .	Marlborough
Franklyn, Sir John, Knight (dead in '48)	Middlesex
*Frye, John, Esq. (King's judge; against the Trinity; disab. '51) . . .	Shaftesbury
Gallop, George, Esq.	Southampton
Gamul, Francis, Esq. (disab. '44; see *Rushworth*, iv. 3.)	Chester
*Gardiner, Samuel, Esq. . . .	Evesham
*Garland, Augustin, Esq. (regicide) .	Queenborough
Garton, Henry, Esq. (dead '41) . .	Arundel
Gawdy, Framlingham, Esq. . . .	Thetford
*Gawen, Thomas, Esq.	Launceston, *alias* Dunchevit
*Gell, Thomas, Esq.	Derby
George, John, Esq. (disab.) . . .	Cirencester
Gerrard, Francis, Esq.	Seaford (Cinque Ports)
Gerrard, Sir Gilbert, Baronet . . .	Middlesex
Glanville, Sergeant John (instead of Humphrey Hooke, monopolist) . .	Bristol
Glanville, William, Esq. (disab. '44) .	Camelford
Glynn, John, Esq. (Recorder; disab., one of the 11)	Westminster
Godolphin, Francis, Esq. (disab.) . .	St. Ives, Cornwall
Godolphin, Francis, Esq. (disab. '44) .	Helston, Cornwall
Godolphin, Sidney, Esq. (killed at Saltash '42)	Helston
*Gold, Nicholas, Esq. (died) . . .	Fowey

Goodwin, Arthur, Esq. (died May '45)	Buckinghamshire
Goodwin, Ralph, Esq. (disab. '44; Secretary to Rupert)	Ludlow
Goodwin, Robert, Esq.	East Grinstead.
Goodwyn, John, Esq.	Haslemere, Surrey
Gorges, Sir Theobald, Knight (disab. '44)	Cirencester
Goring, Colonel George (disab. '42, for surrendering Portsmouth)	Portsmouth
*Got, Samuel, Esq.	Winchelsea
*Gourdon, Brampton, jun., Esq.	Sudbury
Gourdon, John, Esq. (King's judge)	Ipswich
Grantham, Thomas, Esq.	Lincoln
*Gratwick, Roger, Esq. (King's judge)	Hastings
*Green, Giles, Esq.	Corfe Castle
Greenville, Sir Bevil (disab. '42; killed at Lansdown, July '43)	Cornwall
Grey, Henry de (commonly called Lord Ruthen; House of Peers, on father E. Kent's death, in '43)	Leicestershire
Grey, Lord Thomas, of Groby (e. s. of E. of Stamford; regicide)	Leicester
Griffith, Sir Edward, Knight (disab. '44)	Downton, Wilts
Griffith, John, sen., Esq. (died '42)	Beaumaris
Griffith, John, jun., Esq. (disab. '42)	Carnarvonshire
Grimston, Harbottle, Esq. (afterwards Sir)	Colchester
Grimston, Sir Harbottle, Baronet (dead '47)	Harwich
*Grove, Thomas, Esq.	Milborn Port
Hales, Sir Edward, Baronet (disab.)	Queenborough, Kent
Hallows, Nathaniel, Esq. (Alderman)	Derby
Hampden, John, Esq. (slain June '43)	(Wendover, *but preferred*) Buckinghamshire
Harding, Sir Richard, Knight (disab. '44)	Bedwin, Wilts
*Harley, Edward, Esq. (till '47; one of the 11)	Herefordshire
Harley, Sir Robert, K.B.	Herefordshire
*Harley, Robert, Esq.	Radnor
Harman, Richard, Esq. (dead '46)	Norwich
*Harrington, Sir James, Knight (King's judge)	Rutlandshire
*Harrington, John, Esq. (void)	Somersetshire [1]

[1] Sat afterwards for Castle Carey, as appears; and took some dim meagre *Notes*, which are still in existence among the Brit. Mus. MSS.

*Harris, John, Esq.	Launceston, *alias* Dunchevit
Harris, John, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	Liskeard
Harrison, Sir John, Knight (disab. '43) .	Lancaster
*Harrison, Thomas, Esq. (Major-General, regicide)	Wendover
Harrison, William, Esq. (disab. '43) .	Queenborough
Hartnoll, George, Esq. (disab.) . .	Tiverton
*Harvey, Edmund, Esq. (instead of Smith; King's judge) . . .	Bedwin, Wilts
*Harvey, Edward, Esq.	Higham Ferrers
Harvey, John, Esq. (dead '45) . .	Hythe
Haselrig, Sir Arthur, Bart. (King's judge)	Leicestershire
Hatcher, Thomas, Esq.	Stamford
Hatton, Sir Christopher (disab. '42, array; made Baron '43)	(Castle Rising, *but preferred*) Higham Ferrers
Hatton, Sir Robert (in place of Sir Christopher; disab. '42)	Castle Rising
*Hay, Herbert, Esq.	Arundel
*Hay, William, Esq.	Rye
Hayman, Sir Henry, Baronet . . .	Hythe
Hayman, Sir Peter, Knight (dead '41) .	Dover
Heblethwaite, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44) .	Malton
*Hele, Sir Thomas, (disab.) . . .	Plimpton, Devon
Herbert, Edward, Esq. (till Jan. '41, made Attorney-General)	Old Sarum
Herbert, Sir Henry, Knight (disab. '42, array)	Bewdley
*Herbert, Henry, Esq.	Monmouthshire
*Herbert, John, Esq.	Monmouthshire
*Herbert, Hon. James (2d s. of E. of Pembroke)	Wiltshire
Herbert, Lord Phil. (e. s. of E. of Pembroke)	Glamorganshire
Herbert, Richard, Esq. (disab. '42, array)	Montgomery
Herbert, William, Esq. (disab., killed at Edgehill)	Cardiff
Herbert, William, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	(Woodstock, *but preferred*) Monmouthshire
Heveningham, William, Esq. (King's judge)	Stockbridge, Hants
*Hill, Roger, Esq. (King's judge) . .	Bridport
Hippesley, Gabriel, Esq. (void) . .	Marlow

Hippesley, Sir John, Knight . . . Cockermouth
*Hobart, Sir John, Baronet (dead '47) . Norfolk
Hobby, Peregrine, Esq. (in place of Borlace) . . . . . Marlow
*Hodges, Luke, Esq. (died) . . . Bristol
Hodges, Thomas, Esq. . . . . Cricklade
*Hodges, Thomas, Esq. . . . . Ilchester
Holborn, Robert, Esq. (disab. '42) . . St. Michaels
*Holcrofte, John, Esq. . . . . Wigan
Holland, Cornelius, Esq. (King's judge; in place of Roe) . . . . . New Windsor
Holland, Sir John, Baronet . . . Castle Rising, Norfolk
Holles, Denzil, Esq. (till '47 one of the 11) Dorchester
*Holles, Francis, Esq. . . . . Lostwithiel
Holles, Gervase, Esq. (disab. '42) . . Great Grimsby
Hooke, Humphrey, Esq. (monopolist, not duly: Evans's *Bristol*, p. 181) . . Bristol
Hopton, Sir Ralph, K.B. (disab. '42) . Wells
*Horner, George, Esq. (void; Harrington's partner) . . . . . Somersetshire
*Hoskins, Bennet, Esq. . . . . Hereford
Hotham, John, Esq. (beheaded 1 Jan '44) Scarborough
Hotham, Sir John, Baronet (beheaded 2 Jan '44) . . . . . Beverley
*Houghton, Sir Richard, Baronet (from '45) . . . . . Lancashire
*Howard, Lord Edward, of Escrick (in '49; disab. '51) . . . . Carlisle
Howard, Sir Robert, K. B. (disab. '42) . Bishop's Castle, Salop
Howard, Thomas, Esq. (in place of Barker; disab. '44; *D'Ewes*, 219) . . . Wallingford
Hoyle, Thomas, Esq. (Alderman) . . York
*Hudson, Edmund, Esq. (disab. '47) . Lynn
Hungerford, Anthony, Esq. (disab.) . Malmesbury
Hungerford, Sir Edward, K.B. . . Chippenham
*Hungerford, Henry, Esq. . . . Bedwin, Wilts
Hunt, Robert, Esq. (void, but re-elected; disab. '44) . . . . . Ilchester
*Hunt, Thomas, Esq. . . . . Shrewsbury
*Hussey, Thomas, Esq. (after Jervoise died) . . . . . Whitchurch, Hants
*Hutchinson, John, Esq. (the Colonel; regicide) . . . . . Nottinghamshire

Hutchinson, Sir Thomas, Knight (dead '44)	Nottinghamshire
Hyde, Edward, Esq. (Clarendon; disab. '42)	Saltash
Hyde, Sergeant Robert, (disab. '42)	Salisbury
*Ingoldsby, Richard, Esq. (the signer)	Wendover
Ingram, Sir Arthur, Knight, (died)	Kellington
Ingram, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab. '42 for Yorkshire petition)	Thirsk
Irby, Sir Anthony, Knight	Boston
*Ireton, Henry, Esq.	Appleby
Jacob, Sir John, Knight (expelled '41, monopolist of tobacco)	Rye
Jane, Joseph, Esq. (disab. '44)	Liskeard
Jenner, Robert, Esq.	Cricklade
Jennings, Sir John, Knight (died '42)	St. Albans
*Jennings, Richard, Esq. (succeeds Sir John)	St. Albans
Jephson, William, Esq.	Stockbridge, Hants
Jermyn, Henry, Esq. (disab. '43; Lord Jermyn)	Bury St. Edmunds
Jermyn, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab. '44)	Bury St. Edmunds
Jervoise, Richard, Esq. (dead '45)	Whitchurch, Hants
Jervoise, Sir Thomas, Knight	Whitchurch, Hants
Jesson, William, Esq. (Alderman)	Coventry
Jones, Arthur, Lord Ranelagh (disab.)	Weobly
*Jones, John, Esq. (regicide)	Merionethshire
*Jones, Colonel Philip (in Feb. '50)	Brecknockshire
*Jones, William, Esq.	Beaumaris
*Kekewich, George, Esq.	Liskeard
*Kemp, John, Esq.	Christchurch, Hants
Killegrew, Henry, Esq. (disab. '44)	West Looe
King, Richard, Esq. (disab. '43)	Melcomb Regis
Kirkby, Roger, Esq. (disab. '42)	Lancashire
*Kirkham, Roger, Esq. (dead '46)	Old Sarum
Kirle, Walter, Esq.	Leominster
Kirton, Edward, Esq. (disab. '42)	Milborn Port
*Knatchbull, Sir Norton, Baronet.	Romney
Knightley, Richard, Esq.	Northampton
Knowles, Sir Francis, Sen., Knight (died '48)	Reading
Knowles, Sir Francis, jun., Knight (died '45)	Reading

Lane, Thomas, Esq.	Wycombe
*Langton, William, Esq. . . .	Preston
*Lascelles, Francis, Esq. (King's judge) .	Thirsk
*Lawrence, Henry, Esq.	Westmoreland
*Lechmere, Nicholas, Esq. . . .	Droitwich
Lee, Richard, Esq.	Rochester
Lee, Sir Richard, Baronet, (disab. '42) .	Shropshire
*Leech, Nicholas, Esq. (dead '47) . .	Newport, Cornwall
Leeds, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '42) . .	Steyning
Legh, Peter, Esq. (dead '41) . . .	Newton, Lancashire
Legrose, Sir Charles, Knight . . .	Orford, Suffolk
*Leigh, Edward, Esq.	Stafford
Leigh, Sir John, Knight . . .	Yarmouth, Wight
*Leman, William, Esq.	Hertford
*Lenthall, John, Esq. (King's judge) .	Gloucester
Lenthall, William, Esq. (Speaker) . .	Woodstock
Leveson, Sir Richard, K.B. (disab. '42) .	Newcastle-under-Line
*Lewis, Ludovicus, Esq.	Brecon
Lewis, Sir William, Baronet (disab., one of the 11, in '47)	Petersfield
Lewkenor, Christopher, Esq. (disab. '42).	Chichester
Lisle, John, Esq. (King's judge) . .	Winchester
Lisle, Lord Philip (e. s. of Robert E. of Leicester; King's judge) . . .	(St. Ives, Cornwall, *but preferred*) Yarmouth, Wight
Lister, Sir John, Knight (died) . .	Hull
*Lister, Thomas, Esq. (King's judge) .	Lincoln
*Lister, Sir William, Knight . . .	East Retford
Littleton, Sir Edward, Baronet (disab. '44)	Staffordshire
Littleton, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44). .	Great Wenlock
Litton, Sir William, Knight . . .	Hertfordshire
*Livesey, Sir Michael, Baronet (regicide)	Queenborough
Lloyd, Francis, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	Carmarthen
*Lloyd, John, Esq.	Carmarthenshire
Lloyd, Walter, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	Cardiganshire
*Long, Lislebone, Esq.	Wells
Long, Richard, Esq. (monopolist, not duly)	Bristol
*Long, Walter, Esq. (instead of Ashburnham; one of the 11, in '47) . .	Ludgershall, Wilts
*Love, Nicholas, Esq. (King's judge) .	Winchester
Low, George, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	Calne
Lower, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	East Looe

Lowry, John, Esq. (King's judge; see *Harris*, Appendix)	Cambridge
Lucas, Henry, Esq.	Cambridge University
*Luckyn, Capel, Esq.	Harwich
*Lucy, Sir Richard, Baronet	Old Sarum
Lucy, Sir Thomas, Knight (died '40)	Warwick
*Ludlow, Edmund, Esq.	Hindon, Wilts
Ludlow, Sir Henry, Knight (dead '44)	Wiltshire
*Ludlow, Lieut.-General Edmund (regicide)	Wiltshire
Luke, Sir Oliver, Knight	Bedfordshire
Luke, Sir Samuel, Knight (died)	Bedford
Lumley, Sir Martin, Baronet	Essex
Lutterel, Alexander, Esq. (dead '44)	Minehead
Lyster, Sir Martin, Knight	Brackley, Northamptonshire
*Mackworth, Thomas, Esq.	Ludlow
Mallory, Sir John, Knight (disab. '43)	Ripon
Mallory, William, Esq. (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition)	Ripon
Manaton, Ambrose, Esq. (disab. '44)	Launceston, *alias* Dunchevit
Mansfield, Charles Viscount (e. s. of E. of Newcastle, disab. '44)	East Retford
Marlot, William, Esq. (dead '46)	Shoreham
Marten, Henry, Esq. (regicide)	Berkshire
*Martin, Christopher, Esq.	Plimpton
*Martin, Sir Nicholas, Knight	Devonshire
*Masham, Sir William, Baronet (King's judge)	Essex
*Masham, William, Esq.	Shrewsbury
*Massey, Edward, Esq. (the soldier; disab., one of the 11)	Wootton Basset
Masters, Sir Edward, Knight (dead '48)	Canterbury
*Matthews, Roger, Esq. (disab. '44)	Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness (*united*)
Mauleverer, Sir Thomas, Bart. (regicide)	Boroughbridge
May, Thomas, Esq. (not May historian; disab. '42)	Midhurst
*Maynard, Sir John, K.B. (disab., one of the 11)	Lostwithiel
Maynard, John, Esq. (refusing *Newport, Cornwall*, whereupon Prynne)	Totness
*Mayne, Simon, Esq. (regicide)	Aylesbury
Melton, Sir John (died '40)	Newcastle-on-Tyne

Merrick, Sir John, Knight . . .	Newcastle-under-Line
Meux, Sir John, Knight (disab. '44) .	Newton, Hants
Middleton, Sir Thomas, Knight . .	Denbighshire
*Middleton, Thomas, Esq. . . .	Flint
Middleton, Thomas, Esq. . . .	Horsham
Mildmay, Sir Henry, Knight (King's judge)	Malden
*Millington, Gilbert, Esq. (regicide ; *D'Ewes*, 211, 13 Dec. '41) . . .	Nottingham
Monson, William, Viscount Monson in Ireland (King's judge) . . .	Reigate
Montague, Sir Sydney, Knight (disab. '42)	Huntingdonshire
*Montague, Edward, Esq. (Colonel, E. of Sandwich;—after his father Sir Sydney)	Huntingdonshire
Montague, Edward, Esq. (succeeds Lord M. of Boughton, in '44 ; till then)[1] .	Huntingdon
*Moody, Miles, Esq. (dead '46) . .	Ripon
Moor, Richard, Esq. (dead '44) . .	Bishop's Castle
Moor, Thomas, Esq.	Heytesbury
*Moor, Thomas, Esq.	Ludlow
Moore, John, Esq. (regicide) . . .	Liverpool
More, Sir Poynings, Baronet (dead '49) .	Haslemere
Morgan, William, Esq. (dead '49) . .	Brecknockshire
Morley, Herbert, Esq. (King's judge) .	Lewes
Morley, Sir William, Knight (disab. '42, for garrison there)	Chichester
Mostyn, John, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	Flintshire
Mountford, Sir Edward, Knight (dead '44)	Norfolk
*Moyle, John, Esq.	East Looe
Moyle, John, jun. Esq. (dead '46) . .	St. Germains
Musgrave, Sir Philip, Baronet (disab. '43, array)	Westmoreland
Napier, Sir Gerard, Knight (disab. '44) .	Melcomb Regis
Napier, Sir Robert, Baronet . . .	Peterborough
Nash, John, Esq.	Worcester
*Needham, Sir Robert, Knight . .	Haverford West
*Nelthorp, James, Esq. (King's judge) .	Beverley
*Nelthorp, John, Esq.	Beverley
*Nevil, —, Esq. (from '49) . . .	East Retford
*Neville, Henry, Esq. (from '50) . .	Berkshire
Newport, Francis, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	Shrewsbury

[1] A 'George Montague' is also indisputably a member (*Commons Journals*, iv. 60), I know not for what place.

Newport, Sir Richard, Knight (disab.; made Lord '42)	Shropshire
Nicholas, Edward, Esq. (Secretary after Falkland; disab.)	Newton, Hants
Nichols, Anthony, Esq. (disab. one of the 11)	Bodmin
Nichols, Sergeant Robert (King's judge)	Devizes
*Nixon, John, Esq. (Alderman)	Oxford
Noble, Michael, Esq.	Lichfield
Noel, Hon. Baptist (e. s. of Viscount Camden; disab.)	Rutlandshire
North, Sir Dudley, Baronet	Cambridgeshire
North, Sir Roger, Knight (disab. ?)	Eye, Suffolk
Northcote, Sir John, Baronet	Ashburton
*Norton, Sir Gregory, Baronet (regicide)	Midhurst
*Norton, Richard, Esq. (Colonel)	Hampshire
Nutt, John, Esq. (King's judge)	Canterbury
Ogle, Sir William, Knight (disab. '43)	Winchester
Oldsworth, Michael, Esq.	(Plimpton, Devon, *but preferred*) Salisbury
Onslow, Arthur, Esq. (void, but reëlected)	Bramber
Onslow, Sir Richard, Knight	Surrey
Osborne, Sir Edward, Knight (void)	Berwick
*Owen, Arthur, Esq.	Pembrokeshire
Owen, Sir Hugh, Knight	Pembroke
Owfield, Sir Samuel, Knight (dead '44)	Gatton
*Owfield, William, Esq.	Gatton
Owner, Edward, Esq.	Yarmouth
*Oxenden, Henry, Esq.	Winchelsea
*Packer, Robert, Esq.	Wallingford
Packington, Sir John, Baronet (disab. '42 array)	Aylesbury
*Palgrave, Sir John, Baronet	Norfolk
Palmer, Geoffrey, Esq. (disab. '42)	Stamford
*Palmer, John, M.D.	Bridgwater
*Palmer, Sir Roger, Knight, (succeeded Legh in '42; disab. '44)	Newton, Lancashire
Palmes, Sir Guy, Knight (disab. '43)	Rutlandshire
Parker, Sir Philip, Knight	Suffolk
Parker, Sir Thomas, Knight	Seaford, (Cinque Ports)
Parkhurst, Sir Robert, Knight (died)	Guildford
Parry, George, LL.D. (disab. '44)	St. Mawes
Parteriche, Sir Edward, Baronet	Sandwich

Paulet, Sir John, Knight (disab. '42)	Somersetshire
Peard, George, Esq. (died)	Barnstaple
*Peck, Henry, Esq.	Chichester
Pelham, Henry, Esq. (speaker in tumults of 11)	Grantham
*Pelham, John, Esq.	Hastings
*Pelham, Peregrine, Esq. (regicide; *Heath*, p. 364)	Hull
Pelham, Sir Thomas, Baronet	Sussex
*Pembroke, Philip, Earl of (in Pile's place, '49. House of Lords being abolished; died '50)	Berkshire
Pennington, Isaac, Esq. (King's judge)	London
Pennyman, Sir William, Bart. (disab. '42)	Richmond, Yorkshire
*Penrose, John, Esq.	Helston
Percival, John, Esq. (dead '44)	Lynn
*Percival, Sir Philip, Knight (dead '47)	Newport, Cornwall
Perfoy, William, Esq. (regicide)	Warwick
Peyton, Sir Thomas, Baronet (disab. '44)	Sandwich
Philips, Edward, Esq. (instead of Berkeley, '40; disab. '44)	Ilchester
Pickering, Sir Gilbert, Baronet (Poet Dryden's; King's judge)	Northamptonshire
Pickering, Robert, Esq. (void '46)	East Grinstead
Piercy, Henry, Esq. (Earl of Northumberland's brother; expelled, Army-plot, '41 made Baron '43)	(Portsmouth, *but preferred*) Northumberland
Pierpoint, Francis, Esq. (3d s. of Earl of Kingston)	Nottingham
Pierpoint, William, Esq. (2d s. of do.)	Great Wenlock, Salop
*Pigot, Gervase, Esq.	Nottinghamshire
*Pile, Sir Francis, Baronet (died '49)	Berkshire
Playters, Sir William, Baronet	Orford, Suffolk
Pleydall, William, Esq. (disab. '44)	Wootton Basset
Pole, Sir William, Knight (disab. '43)	Honiton
Polewheel, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	Tregony
Pollard, Sir Hugh, Knight (expelled '41 for plot of bringing up army)	Beeralston
Poole, Edward, Esq.	Wootton Basset
Poole, Sir Nevil, Knight	Malmesbury
*Pope, Roger, Esq. (dead '47)	Merionethshire
Popham, Alexander, Esq.	Bath

*Popham, Edward, Esq. (from '45) . .	Minehead
Popham, Sir Francis (dead '44) . .	Minehead
Porter, Endymion, Esq. (disab. '43) .	Droitwich
Portman, Sir William, Baronet (disab. '44)	Taunton
Potter, Hugh, Esq. (disab.) . . .	Plimpton
Potts, Sir John, Baronet (died) . .	Norfolk
*Povey, Thomas, Esq.	Liskeard
Price, Charles, Esq. (disab.) . . .	Radnorshire
Price, Herbert, Esq. (disab.) . . .	Brecon
Price, Sir John, Baronet, (disab. '45) .	Montgomeryshire
*Price, Sir Richard, Baronet . . .	Cardiganshire
Price, William, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	Merionethshire
Prideaux, Edmund, Esq. . . .	Lyme Regis
*Priestley, William, Esq. . . .	St. Mawes
Prynne, William, Esq.	Newport,[1] Cornwall
Pury, Alderman Thomas (took notes, see Burton's *Diary*, where the name is, by mistake, printed 'Davy') . .	Gloucester
*Pury, Thomas, jun. Esq. (of Gloucester)	Monmouth
*Pye, Sir Robert, Knight . . .	Woodstock
*Pym, Charles, Esq.	Beeralston
Pym, John, Esq. (died Dec. '43) . .	Tavistock
Pyne, John, Esq.	Poole
*Radcliff, John, Esq.	Chester
Rainsborough, Captain, (died '41) . .	Aldborough, Suffolk
*Rainsborough, Colonel Thomas, (killed at Doncaster, 29 Oct. '48) . .	Droitwich
Rainsford, Sir Henry, Knight (dead '41)	Andover
*Rainsford, Henry, Esq. . . .	St. Ives, Cornwall
*Raleigh, Carew, Esq.	Kellington, Cornwall
Ramsden, Sir John (disab. for Selby fight, '44)	Northallerton
Rashleigh, Jonathan, Esq. (disab. '44) .	Fowey
Ravenscroft, Paul, Esq.	Horsham
Reynolds, Robert, Esq. (King's judge) .	Hindon, Wilts
*Rich, Charles, Esq.	Sandwich
*Rich, Nathaniel, Esq. (from Feb. '49) .	Cirencester
Rich, Robert Lord (e. s. of Robert E. of Warwick; called to Peers, Jan. 27. '41; *Rushworth*, iv. 4) . . .	Essex
Rigby, Alexander, Esq. (King's judge) .	Wigan

[1] 'Newport, soon after the Parliament sat'; not 'Bristol in '45, as the *Parliamentary History* gives it.

Rivers, —, Esq. (dead '41)	Lewes
*Robinson, Luke, Esq.	Scarborough
*Rochester, Charles, Lord Viscount (e. s. of E. of Somerset)	St. Michaels
Rodney, Sir Edward (disab. '42)	Wells
Roe, Sir Thomas, Knight (not duly)	New Windsor
Roe, Sir Thomas, Knight (dead in '44)	Oxford University
Rogers, Hugh, Esq.	Calne
Rogers, Richard, Esq. (disab. '42)	Dorsetshire
Rolle, John, Esq.	Truro
*Rolle, Sir Samuel, Knight (died)	Devonshire
Rose, Richard, Esq.	Lyme Regis
*Rossiter, Edward, Esq.	Great Grimsby
Rouse, Francis, Esq.	Truro
Rudyard, Sir Benjamin, Knight	Wilton
*Russel, Francis, Esq.	Cambridgeshire
Russel, Lord William (e. s. of E. of Bedford; till '41)	Tavistock
*Russel, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	Tavistock
St. Hill, Peter, Esq. (disab. '44)	Tiverton
St. John, Sir Beauchamp, Knight	Bedford
St. John, Oliver, Esq. (Sol.-Gen. in '40)	Totness
Salisbury, John, jun. Esq. (disab. '44)	Flint
*Salisbury, William, Earl of (in '49)	Lynn
Salway, Humphrey, Esq. (King's judge)	Worcestershire
*Salway, Richard, Esq. (King's judge)	Appleby
Sanders, —, Esq. (not duly)	Gatton
Sandys, Samuel, Esq. (disab. '42)	Droitwich
Sandys, Thomas, Esq.	Gatton
Sandys, William, Esq. (expelled '41, as monopolist)	Evesham
*Saville, Sir William, Baronet (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition)	Old Sarum
*Say, William, Esq. (regicide)	Camelford
*Sayer, John, Esq.	Colchester
*Scawen, Robert, Esq.	Berwick
*Scot, Thomas, Esq. (dead '47)	Aldborough, Yorkshire
*Scott, Thomas, Esq. (regicide)	Aylesbury
*Scudamore, James, Esq. (disab.)	Hereford
Seabourne, Richard, Esq. (disab. '46)	Hereford
Searle, George, Esq.	Taunton
Selden, John, Esq.	Oxford University
Seymour, Edward, Esq. (disab. '44)	Devonshire

Seymour, Sir Francis, Knight (made Lord '41)	Marlborough
*Seymour, Sir John, Knight . . .	Gloucestershire
*Shapcot, Robert, Esq.	Tiverton
*Shelley, Henry, Esq. (after Rivers) .	Lewes
Shuckburgh, Richard, Esq. (disab.; instead of Combe)	Warwickshire
Shuttleworth, Richard, Esq. . . .	Clithero
Shuttleworth, Richard, Esq. . . .	Preston
Siddenham, Sir Ralph (in place of Clotworthy; disab. '42)	Bossiney
*Sidney, Algernon, Esq. (after Herbert; King's judge)	Cardiff
*Skeffington, Sir Richard, Knight (dead '47)	Staffordshire
*Skinner, Augustin, Esq. (King's judge)	Kent
*Skippon, Philip, Esq. (the soldier; King's judge)	Barnstaple
*Skutt, George, Esq.	Poole
Slanning, Sir Nicholas, Knight (disab. '42; killed at Bristol)	(Plimpton, Devon, *but preferred*) Penryn
Slingsby, Sir Henry, Baronet (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition; beheaded '58) .	Knaresborough
*Smith, John, Esq. (succeeds Lord Andover; soon disab.) . . .	Oxford
*Smith, Philip, Esq.	Marlborough
Smith, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	Chester
*Smith, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '42) . .	Bridgwater
Smith, Sir Walter, Knight (disab. '44) .	Bedwin, Wilts
*Smith, William, Esq. (disab.) . .	Winchelsea
*Smyth, Henry, Esq. (regicide) . .	Leicestershire
*Snelling, George, Esq.	Southwark
Sneyd, Ralph, jun. Esq. (disab. '43, taken prisoner at Stafford) . . .	Stafford
Snow, Simon, Esq.	Exeter
Soame, Sir Thomas, Knight . . .	London
*Spelman, John, Esq.	Castle Rising, Norfolk
*Spring, Sir William, Bart. (after Jermyn)	Bury St. Edmunds
*Springet, Herbert, Esq. . . .	Shoreham
Spurstow, William, Esq. merchant (dead '46)	Shrewsbury
Stamford, Sir Thomas (not duly) . .	Cockermouth

Standish, Thomas, Esq. (dead '44) . .	Preston
Stanhope, Ferdinando, Esq. (4th s. of E. of Chesterfield; disab. '43) . .	Tamworth
Stanhope, William, Esq. (disab.) . .	Nottingham
*Stapleton, Bryan, Esq.	Aldborough, Yorkshire
Stapleton, Sir Philip, Knight (disab., one of the 11; died '47)	Boroughbridge
*Stapleton, Henry, Esq.	Boroughbridge
Staply, Anthony, Esq. (regicide) . .	Sussex
*Starre, Colonel —— (dead '47) . .	Shaftesbury
Stawell, Sir John, K.B. (disab. '42) .	Somersetshire
Stephens, Edward, Esq. (two elections; not duly, then lost, at last duly; died)	Tewkesbury
*Stephens, John, Esq.	Tewkesbury
Stephens, Nathaniel, Esq. . . .	Gloucestershire
*Stephens, William, LL.D. . . .	Newport, Wight
Stepney, Sir John, Baronet (disab.). .	Haverford West
*Stockdale, Thomas, Esq. . . .	Knaresborough
Stonehouse, Sir George, Bart. (disab. '44)	Abingdon
*Stoughton, Nicholas, Esq. (dead '45) .	Guildford
Strangways, Giles, Esq. (disab. '44) .	Bridport
Strangways, Sir John, Knight (disab. Sept. '42)	Weymouth
Strickland, Sir Robert, Knight (disab. '43)	Aldborough, Yorkshire
*Strickland, Walter, Esq. (from '45) .	Minehead
Strickland, Sir William, Knight . .	Heydon, Yorkshire
*Strode, Sir Richard, Knight . . .	Plimpton
*Strode, William, Esq.	Ilchester
Strode, William, Esq. (died '45) . .	(Tamworth, *but prefers*) Beeralston
Sutton, Robert, Esq. (disab.; made Baron Lexington, 21 Nov. '45) . . .	Nottinghamshire
*Swynfen, John, Esq.	Stafford
*Sydenham, William, jun. Esq. . .	Melcomb Regis
Tate, Zouch, Esq. (Self-denying Ordinance)	Northampton
Taylor, William, Esq. (instead of a monopolist; disab. '45, Siege of Bristol) .	Bristol
Taylor, William, Esq. (in place of Waller; expelled May '41, on Strafford's account)	New Windsor
*Temple, James, Esq. (regicide) . .	Bramber
*Temple, Sir John, Knight . . .	Chichester

*Temple, Peter, Esq. (regicide)	Leicester
Temple, Sir Peter, Baronet (King's judge)	Buckingham
*Temple, Thomas, Esq.	Huntingdon
*Terrick, Samuel, Esq.	Newcastle-under-Line
Theloall, Simon, jun. Esq.	Denbigh
*Thistlethwaite, Alexander, Esq.	Downton, Wilts
Thomas, Edward, Esq.	Okehampton, Devonshire
*Thomas, Isaiah, Esq.	Bishop's Castle
*Thomas, John, Esq.	Helston
Thomas, William, Esq. (disab. '44)	Carnarvon
*Thompson, George, Esq.	Southwark
*Thornhaugh, Francis, Esq. (dead '48)	East Retford
*Thorpe, Sergeant Francis (King's judge).	Richmond, Yorkshire
*Thynn, Thomas, Esq.	Saltash
Thynne, Sir James, Knight (disab.).	Wiltshire
Toll, Thomas, Esq.	Lynn
*Tolson, Richard, Esq.	Cumberland
Tomkins, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44)	Weobly
*Trefusis, Nicholas, Esq.	Cornwall
Trenchard, John, Esq. (King's judge)	Wareham, Dorsetshire
*Trenchard, Sir Thomas, Knight	Dorsetshire
Trevanion, John, Esq. (disab.; killed at Bristol)	Lostwithiel
Trevor, Sir John, Knight	Grampound
*Trevor, John, Esq.	Flintshire
*Trevor, Sir Thomas, Knight	Tregony
Trevor, Thomas, Esq. (till '44, then void)	Monmouth
Tufton, Sir Humphrey, Knight	Maidstone
Tulsey, Henry, Esq. (dead '42)	Christchurch, Hants
Turner, Samuel, M.D. (disab. '44)	Shaftesbury
*Twisden, Thomas, Esq.	Maidstone
Upton, Arthur, Esq. (died '41)	Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness (*united*)
*Upton, John, Esq.	Fowey
Uvedale, Sir William, Knight (disab.)	Petersfield
*Vachel, Tanfield, Esq.	Reading
Valentine, Benjamin, Esq.	St. Germains
Vane, George, Esq. (disab.)	Kellington
Vane, Sir Henry, Knight	Wilton
Vane, Sir Henry, jun. Knight	Hull
Vassal, Samuel, Esq., merchant	London
*Vaughan, Charles, Esq.	Honiton
*Vaughan, Edward, Esq.	Montgomeryshire

Vaughan, Sir Henry, Knight (disab.)	Carmarthenshire
Vaughan, John, Esq. (disab. '45)	Cardigan
Venables, Peter, Esq. (disab. '44)	Cheshire
*Venn, John, Esq. (regicide)	London
Verney, Sir Edmund, Knight Marshal (killed at Edgehill, Oct. '42, where he bore the King's standard)	Wycombe
Verney, Sir Ralph, Knight (disab. '45)	Aylesbury
Vernon, Henry, Esq. (not duly)	Andover
Vivian, Sir Richard, Knight (disab. '44)	Tregony
*Walker, Clement, Esq.	Wells
Walker, Robert, Esq. (disab. '43)	Exeter
Waller, Edmund, Esq. (in place of Lord Lisle; disab. '43)	St. Ives, Cornwall[1]
*Waller, Thomas, Esq.	Bodmin
Waller, Thomas, Esq. (not duly)	New Windsor
Waller, Sir William, Knight (instead of Vernon; one of the 11)	Andover
Wallop, Sir Henry, Knight (dead '44)	Hampshire
*Wallop, Robert, Esq. (King's judge)	Andover
Walsingham, Sir Thomas, Knight	Rochester
Walton, Valentine, Esq. (regicide)	Huntingdonshire
*Warmouth, —, Esq. (void)	Newcastle-on-Tyne
Warton, Michael, Esq. (disab. '44)	Beverley
Warwick, Philip, Esq. (disab. '44)	(Romney, *but preferred*) Radnor.
Wastell, John, Esq.	Malton
Watkins, William, Esq. (void in '44)	Monmouth
*Wayte, Thomas, Esq. (regicide)	Rutlandshire
*Weaver, John, Esq. (King's judge)	Stamford
Weaver, Richard, Esq. (dead May '42)	Hereford
*Weaver, Edmund, Esq. (after '46)	Hereford
Webb, Thomas, Esq. (expelled '42, monopolist)	Romney
Wenman, Thomas, Lord Viscount, in Ireland	Oxfordshire
Wentworth, Sir George, of Wooley, Knight (disab. '42, Yorkshire petition)	Pontefract
Wentworth, Sir George, Knight (Strafford's brother, disab. '44)	Pontefract
*Wentworth, Sir Peter, K.B. (King's judge)	Tamworth

[1] 'Agmondesham,' says *Biogr. Britan.* (vi. 4103).

Wentworth, Lord Thomas (Earl of Cleveland's eldest son; to House of Peers, 25th Nov. '40, by writ) . . .	Bedfordshire
*West, Edmund, Esq.	(Wendover, *but preferred*) Buckinghamshire
*Weston, Benjamin, Esq. (King's judge)	Dover
Weston, Nicholas, Esq. (disab. '42, for Goring's business)	Portsmouth
Weston, Richard, Esq. (disab.) . .	Stafford
*Westrow, Thomas, Esq. . . .	Hythe (Cinque Ports)
Whaddon, John, Esq.	Plymouth
Wheeler, William, Esq.	Westbury, Wilts
Whistler, John, Esq. (disab.) . . .	Oxford
Whitacre, Lawrence, Esq. (Borough being restored to its rights) . . .	Okehampton, Devon
Whitaker, William, Esq. (dead '46) .	Shaftesbury
White, John, Esq. (died '45) . . .	Southwark
White, John, Esq. (disab. '44) . .	Rye
*White, William, Esq. (Secretary to Sir T. Fairfax)	Pontefract
Whitehead, Richard, Esq. . . .	Hampshire
Whitlocke, Bulstrode, Esq. (in place of Hippesley)	Marlow
Whitmore, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab. '44)	Bridgnorth
Widdrington, Sir Thomas, Knight (*Rushworth*, ii. 179)	Berwick
Widdrington, Sir William, Baronet (disab. '42; killed at Worcester) . .	Northumberland
*Willes, Henry, Esq.	Saltash
Williams, Sir Charles, (dead '41) . .	Monmouthshire
Wilmot, Henry, Esq. (expelled, Army plot '41; made Baron '43) . .	Tamworth
*Wilson, Rowland, Esq. (Alderman of London; King's judge) . . .	Calne
Windebank, Sir Francis, Knight (Secretary: fled '41)	Corfe Castle
Wingate, Edward, Esq.	St. Albans
*Winwood, Richard, Esq. . . .	New Windsor
Wise, —, Esq. (died before '41) . .	Devonshire
Wogan, John, sen. Esq. (dead '44) . .	Pembrokeshire
*Wogan, Thomas, Esq. (regicide) . .	Cardigan
Woodhouse, Sir Thomas, Baronet . .	Thetford

Worsley, Sir Henry, Baronet . . .	Newport, Wight
Wray, Sir Christopher, Knight (dead '45)	Great Grimsby
Wray, Sir John, Baronet . . .	Lincolnshire
*Wray, William, Esq.	Great Grimsby
Wroth, Sir Peter, Knight (dead '44) .	Bridgwater
*Wroth, Sir Thomas, Knight (King's judge)	Bridgwater
*Wylde, Edmund, Esq. (King's judge) .	Droitwich
Wylde, Sergeant John	Worcestershire
Wyndham, Edmund, Esq. (expelled '41, monopolist)	Bridgwater
*Wynn, Sir Richard, Knight . . .	Carnarvonshire
Wynn, Sir Richard, Baronet (dead '49) .	Liverpool
Yelverton, Sir Christopher, Knight .	Bossiney
Young, Sir John, Knight . . .	Plymouth
Young, Walter, Esq.	Honiton

LISTS OF THE EASTERN-ASSOCIATION COMMITTEES

The Committee Lists of the Eastern Association are taken from Husband's *Second Collection*,[1] where, in three successive general Acts, dated 1st April 1643, 7th May (and 1st June) 1643, and 3d August 1643, —followed by a few partial amendments and enlargements for specific places at different dates,—the Committees of all Parliamentary or Anti-Royalist Counties and principal Boroughs, as settled at that stage of the contest, are named. Earlier and earliest Committees are in Husband's *First Collection*[2] and elsewhere; but these, as transient and now abrogated combinations, do not concern us here.

The Committee of April is named for managing the *Sequestration of Delinquents' Estates;* those of May and August for raising money by other methods, chiefly by *Weekly Assessments;* and each has its specific Act and instructions; but as the essential business of all these Committees was to carry on the War by furnishing the sinews of war, and as, with trifling variations, the same persons sat on all, it may well be imagined their functions, even to the members themselves, became gradually much blended; and for us they have become inextricably blended, or not worth

[1] *Collection of all the Public Orders, Ordinances etc. of Parliament, from March 1642-3 to December 1646*: Printed for Edward Husband (London, folio, 1646).

[2] *An exact Collection of all Remonstrances etc. etc.* (London, small 4to, 1643): Printed for Edward Husbands (*sic*), p. 891 etc.

the huge labour of attempting to extricate and distinguish. Committees, all, essentially of Finance and general Administration; appointed, we may say, to care generally that the Parliamentary Cause suffer no damage by lack of money or otherwise,—against whom, and their despotic procedure, rise loud complaints and denunciations in the old Pamphlets of a royalist or neutral stamp. An assiduous hand, searching on my behalf through every corner of these Lists and Supplementary Lists, as they lie in bewildering disorder, scattered over the vast surface of *Husband*,—has painfully added to each Name an exact note of the several Committees on which he sat: but, not to encumber the Printer and the Reader with what would little if in any degree profit, I have omitted these specialties at present,—all but the following two:

Under date 10th August 1643 (with Supplementary or subsequent Acts, in some cases) is a particular settling and assorting of the Association Committees as a distinct body; with instructions and directions; directing, for one thing, how they are to choose the Central Committee which sits at Cambridge;—indicating to us who they now are, and most probably who they were hitherto, that showed themselves most and took the chief management: these, as in some sort peculiar, I have found good to note: all that sit on this Committee are distinguished by an asterisk (*); those that sit on this only, or are new men at the passing of the Act, have their names printed in *italics*. And observe here: *Among* those of the asterisk the 'Deputy Lieutenants,' appointed long before and with superior powers, of whom there is sometimes mention in *Oliver's Letters* and elsewhere, will be found; but not in a distinguishable state: their names as a body, though 'read publicly,' in 1642, and even ordered to be printed,[1] do not occur in *Husband*. This is the *first* specialty of indication, attempted here. Then *secondly*, under date 15th Feb. 1644-5, on Fairfax's appointment to be Commander-in-chief, there occurs a revision or new-model of Committees, in the Association as everywhere else, for raising assessments to support Fairfax: such men as were *added* for serving on this Committee, are designated by an (*f.*). Farther distinctions, as threatening rather to confuse than illuminate the reader, are not given at present.

Our only change from those Lists of Husband's is the arrangement, an important and indispensable one, in alphabetical order; and the correction of what mistakes were palpable,—the number and nature of which still testify how hurriedly that old Parliamentary operation, in all stages of it, was done. The spelling especially, with its incessant variations, has been an intricate business, not to be settled sometimes except partly by guess. Our 'Esq.,' 'Gent.,' and occasional omission of all Title, are correctly what we find in the old Book.

[1] Names 'read before the House,' 17th March 1641-2 (*Commons Journals*, ii. 483); ordered 'to be printed,' 6th Oct. following (*ib.* 797): not given in either case.

Under the given circumstances, Husband's List may be taken as substantially correct: but of course those Committees, even for specified objects, were liable, at all times, both to be supplemented and to be sifted down; which renders their exact composition a fluctuating object, dependent on date in some measure.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

Cambridgeshire Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 15th September), p. 16, p. 322;—7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 21st June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 169, p. 225, p. 6 Appendix, p. 329; Association specially, 10th August (and 4th September), p. 284, p. 308. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February 1644-5, p. 603.

Those that sat exclusively on this Fairfax Committee have an (*f.*) appended; those of 10th August (among whom are the Deputy-Lieutenants) are marked with an asterisk (*), and such of them as were then *new* are in italics: (*e.*) means, For Ely only; (*t.*), For Town and University only.

Aldmond, Edward, (*t. f.*)
*Becket, Thomas, Esq.
*Bendish, Thomas, Esq.
Blackley, James. (*t. f.*)
**Browne*, —
Browning, Edward, Esq.
Butler, Henry, Esq.
Butler, Nevill, Esq.
*Castle, Robert, Esq.
*Castle, Thomas, Esq.
Chennery,[1] John, Esq. (*f.*)
Clapthorn, George, Esq.
Clark, Edward, Esq.
*Clark, Robert, Esq.
**Clench, Edward, Esq.*
Clopton, Walter, Esq.
**Cooke, Thomas, Esq.*
*Cromwell, Oliver, Esq.
*Cutts, Sir John, Kt.
Dalton, Michael, jun. Esq.
Dalton Michael, sen, Esq. (*f.*)
Desborow, Isaac.
Diamond, Tristram, Gent. (*e. f.*)
*Ducket, Thomas, Esq.
Eden, Dr. (*f.*)
Fiennes, Ald. (*t. f.*)
Fisher, William, Esq.
**Foxton, Richard, Esq.*
French, Thomas (*t.*)
*Hobart, John, Esq.
Hynde, Robert
Janes, William, Esq. (*f.*)
Leeds, Edward, Esq.
Lowry, John (*t.*)
Male, Edmund
*March, Humberston, Esq.
*Marsh, William, Esq.
*Martin, Sir Thomas, Kt.
*Mayor for the time being (*t.*)
North, Sir Dudley, Kt.
Parker, Thomas, Esq.
Partridge, Sir Edward, Kt. (*e. f.*)
Pepys, Samuel, Esq.
Pepys, Talbot, Recorder (*t.*)
*Pope, Dudley, Esq.
Raven, John, Esq. (*f.*)
Reynolds, James, Esq. (*f.*)
Reynolds, Sir James (*f.*)
Robson, Robert (*t.*)
*Russel, Francis, Esq.

[1] Spelt also *Chymery*.

Russel, Killiphet, Esq. (*f.*)
*Sandys,[1] Sir Miles, Kt.
Sherwood, John (*t.*)
Smith, Henry
*Spalding, Samuel (*t.*)
Staughton, Robert
Story, Philip, Esq.
Stone, Richard, M.D. (*e. f.*)
Symonds, Thomas, Esq.
*Thompson, James, Esq.
Towers, John, Esq.
Walker, Thomas
*Welbore, John, Esq.
Welbore, William (*t.*)
Wendy, Francis, Esq.
Wright, John

ESSEX

Essex Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 1st June), p. 17, p. 194;—7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 1st June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 170, p. 194, p. 7 Appendix, p. 328;—Association specially, 10th August, p. 284. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February 1644-5, p. 603.

The (*f.*) designates the exclusively *Fairfax* men; the asterisk (*) those of 10th August, the then *new* ones of whom are in italics; (*c.*) means, For Colchester.

Adams, Thomas, of Thaxted, Gent.
Allen, Isaac, of Haseley, Esq.
*Alliston,[2] John, Gent.
*Atwood, John, Esq.
*Atwood, William, Esq.
Aylet, Jeremy, Esq.
Aylett, Thomas, of Kelldon, Gent.
Bacon, Nathaniel, Esq.
*Barnardiston, Arthur, Esq.
Barrington, Henry, Gent. (*c.*)
Barrington, Robert, Esq. (*f.*)
Barrington, Sir John, Kt.
Barrington, Sir Thomas, Bart.
Berkhead, Edward, Esq.
Bourn, Robert, Esq.
Brook, John, Esq.
Burket, John, Esq.
Buxton, Robert, Gent. (*c.*)
*Calthorp, Robert, Esq.
Cheeke, Sir Thomas, Kt.
Clapton, Thomas, Esq.
Cletheroe, Captain.
Collard, William, Esq.
Cook, William, Ald. (*c.*)
Cooke, Thomas, Esq.
Cooke, Thomas, Gent.
Crane, Robert, Esq.
Eden, John, Esq.
*Eldred, John, Esq.
*Everard, Sir Richard, Bart.
Farr, Henry, Esq.
Fenning, John, Gent.
Friborne, Samuel, Esq.
Gambeil,[3] James, Esq. (*f.*)
Goldingham, William, Esq.
Grimston, Harbottle, Esq. (also *c.* Recorder)
Grimston, Sir Harbottle, Bart.
*Harlackenden, Richard, Esq.
Harlackenden, William, Gent.
Harrison, Ralph, Ald (*c.*)
Harvey, John, Esq. (*f.*)
Hawkin, Richard, of Harwich, Gent.

[1] Spelt also *Sands*, *Sandes*, *Sandis*.
[2] Spelt also *Aliston*, *Eliston*, etc. etc.
[3] Spelt also *Cambell*.

Herne, James, Esq.
Hicks, Sir William, Bart.
*Holcroft, Sir Henry, Kt.
*Honywood, Sir Thomas, Kt.
Jocelyn, John, Esq. (also *c.* Deputy Recorder)
Johnson, Thomas (*c.*)
Kemp, Sir Robert, Kt. (*f.*)
Langley, John, of Colchester, Esq. (also *c.*)
Langton, John, Gent. (*c.*)
Lumley, Sir Martin, Bart.
Luther, Anthony, Esq.
Maidstone, Robert, Gent.
Martin, Sir William, Kt.
Masham, Sir William, Bart.
Masham, William, Esq.
Matthews, Joachim, Esq. (*f.*)
Mayor for the time being (*c.*)
Mead, John, Esq.
*Middleton, Timothy, Esq.
Mildmay, Cary, Esq.
Mildmay, Henry, of Graves, Esq.
Mildmay, Sir Henry, of Wanstead, Bart.
Nicholson, Francis, Gent.
**Palmer, Edward, Esq.*
Pike, John, Esq.
Plume,[1] Samuel, Gent.
Raymond, Oliver, Esq.
*Reade, Dr., of Birchanger
*Rowe, Sir William, Kt.
*Sayer, John, Esq.
Shaw, John, jun. Gent. (*f.*)
Sheffield, Samson, Esq. (*f.*)
Smith, Robert, Esq.
*Sorrell,[2] John, Esq.
Stonehard, Francis, Esq.
Talcot, Robert, of Colchester, Gent.
Talcot, Thomas, Gent. (*f.*)
Thomas, Captain
Thorogood, George, Esq.
Thorogood, John, of Walden, Gent.
*Tindall, Deane, Esq.
Topsfield, —, Esq. (*f.*)
Turner, William, of Wimbish, Gent.
*Umphrevill,[3] William, Esq.
Vesey, Robert, Gent.
Wade, Thomas, Ald. (*c. f.*)
Walton, George, Esq.
Ward, Ald. (*c.*)
Watkins, John, Esq.
Whitcombe, Peter, Esq.
Williamson, Francis, of Walden, Gent.
Wincall, Isaac, Gent.
Wiseman, Henry, Esq.
Wiseman, Richard, Gent.
Wiseman, Robert, of Mayland, Esq.
*Wright,[4] John, Esq.
**Young, John, Gent.*
Young, Robert, Esq.

HERTFORDSHIRE

Hertfordshire Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplements, 1st June, 21st June), p. 18, p. 194, p. 225;—7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 3d August, 20th September), p. 171, p. 8 Appendix, p. 329;—Association specially, 10th August, p. 284. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February 1644-5, p. 604.

The (*f.*) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of 10th August; (*a.*) means, For St. Albans.

[1] Spelt also *Plum*, *Plumme*, *Plain*, *Playne*, *Plague*.
[2] Spelt also *Serrill* and *Correll*.
[3] Spelt also *Humfrevile*, etc.
[4] Spelt also *Weight*.

Atkins, Edward, Esq., Sergeant-at-law
*Barber, Gabriel, Esq.
Carter, William, of Offley, Gent.
Cecil, Robert, Esq.
Combes, Toby, Esq.
Cranbourne, Charles, Lord Viscount
Dacres, Sir Thomas, Kt.
Fairecloth, Litton, Esq.
*Freeman, Ralph, Esq.
*Garret,[1] Sir John, Bart.
Harrison, Sir John
*Heydon, John, Esq.
Humberston, John, sen. Gent.
Jennings, Richard, Esq.
*King, Dr. John, M.D.
*Leman,[2] William, Esq.
Litton, Rowland, Esq. (*f.*)
Litton, Sir William, Kt.
Lucy, Sir Richard, Bart. (*f.*)
Marsh, John, Gent.
Mayor for the time being (*a.*)
Mayor of Hertford for the time being
Meade, Thomas, Gent.
*Mewtys, Henry, Esq.
Norton, Gravely, Esq.
Pemberton, John, Esq.
*Pemberton, Ralph, Esq. (*a.*)
*Porter, Richard, Esq.
*Priestley, William, Esq.
Puller, Isaac, Gent.
*Read, Sir John, Bart.
*Robotham, John, Esq. (*a.*)
Sadler, Thomas, Esq.
*Scroggs, John, Esq.
Tooke, John, Esq.
*Tooke, Thomas, Esq.
*Washington, Adam, Esq.
*Wilde, Alexander, Esq.
Wingate, Edward, Esq.
*Witterong,[3] Sir John, Kt.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE

Huntingdonshire Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 8th July), p. 18, p. 229;—7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 3d August, 20th September), p. 171, p. 8 Appendix, p. 329;—Association specially, 10th August, p. 284. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February 1644-5, p. 604.

The (*f.*) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of 10th August, the then *new* ones of whom are in italics.

Armyn, Sir William, Bart. (*f.*)
Bonner, John, Gent. (*f.*)
Bulkley, John, Esq.
*Burrell, Abraham, Esq.
Castle, John, Esq.
Cotton, Sir Thomas, Bart.
*Cromwell, Oliver, Esq.
Desborow, Isaac, Gent.
Drury, William (*f.*)
**Fullwood, Gervaise, Gent.*
**Harvey, Robert, Gent.*
Hewet, Sir John, Kt.
Ingram, Robert, Gent.
*Joceline, Terrill, Esq.
King, William, Gent.
*Montague, Edward, Esq.
Montague, George, Esq. (*f.*)
Offley, John, Gent.

[1] Spelt also *Gerrat* and *Jerratt*.
[2] Spelt also *Leaman*, *Lemon*, *etc. etc.*
[3] Spelt also *Whitterong*, *Whitteronge*, *Wittewrong*, *Witewrong*, *Witterounge*, and *Witteroung*.

Petton, John, Gent.
*Temple, Thomas, Esq.
*_Vintner, Robert, Gent._
Walton, Valentine, Esq. (_f._)
*Winch, Onslow, Esq.

LINCOLNSHIRE

Lincolnshire Committees (_Husband_, ii.), in 1643: 1st April, p. 18;—7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 1st June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 171, p. 194, p. 9 Appendix, p. 329. 3d July 1644 (County now got; corresponds to 10th August 1643, for the other Counties), p. 515. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February 1644-5 (with Supplements, 3d April, 11th August), p. 604, p. 633, p. 707.

The (_f._) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of 3d July 1644, the then _new_ ones of whom are in italics; (_l._) means, For Lincoln.

Anderson, Edmund, Esq.
Archer, John, Esq.
Armyn, Sir William, Bart.
*_Ashton, Peter, Esq._
*_Askham, Thomas_
Ayscough, Sir Edward, Kt.
Ayscough, Edward, Esq.
Bernard, John, Gent.
Bowtal, Barnaby, Esq.
Brassbridge, Ald. (_f. l._)
*Browne, John, Gent.
Brownlow, Sir John, Bart.
Brownlow, Sir William, Bart.
Broxholme, John, Esq. (also _l._)
Bryan, Richard, Esq.
*Bury,[1] William, Esq.
*Cave, Morris, Esq.
Cawdron, Robert, Esq.
*Cholmley, Montague, Esq.
*Coppledike, Thomas, Esq.
*Cornwallis, Thomas, Esq.
*Cust, Samuel, Esq.
Davison, William, Gent. (_f._)
Dawson, Stephen, Ald. (_l._)
*Disney, John, sen. Esq.
*Disney, Mollineux, Esq.
Disney, Thomas, Esq. (_f._)
*_Disney, William, Esq._
*Ellis, Edmund, Esq.
Ellis, William, Esq.
*Emmerson, Alexander, Esq.
*Empson, Charles, Esq.
Empson, Francis, Gent. (_f._)
*Erle, Sir Richard, Bart.
Escote, Captain
Filkin, Richard, Gent. (_f._)
*Fines, Francis, Esq.
Fisher, Francis, Esq. (_f._)
Grantham, Thomas, Esq. (also _l._)
*_Godfrey, William, Esq._
*Hall, Charles, Esq.
Hall, —, of Kettlethorpe, Esq.
Hall, Thomas, Gent.
Harrington, James, Esq. (_f._)
Harrington, John, Esq.
Hatcher, Thomas, Esq.
Hitchcott, Edmund, Esq.
Hickman, Willoughby, Esq.
Hobson, John, Gent. (_f._)
*Hobson, William, Esq.
Hudson, Christopher, Esq.
Irby, Sir Anthony, Knight.
*Irby, Thomas, Esq.
Johnson, Martin, Gent.
King, Edward, Esq.
*_Knight, Isaac._

[1] Spelt also _Burg_ and _Berry_.

Leigh, Samuel, Esq.
Lister, Thomas, Esq.
*Lister, William, Esq.
*Luddington, William, Esq.
Marshal, William, Mayor (*l.*)
*Massinbeard,[1] Draynard, Esq.
*Massinbeard,[1] Henry, Esq.
Massingden, —, Esq.
Mayor of Boston for the time being
Mayor of Lincoln for the time being (*l.*)
*Miscendyne, Francis, Esq.
Moorcroft, Robert, Ald. (*l.*)
Munckton, Michael, Gent. (*f.*)
*Nelthorp, Edward, Esq.
Nelthorp, John, Esq. (*f.*)
*Nethercote, Thomas, Gent.
Owfield, Sir Samuel, Kt.
Owfield, William, Esq. (*f.*)
*Parkins, Wyat, Gent.
*Pelham, Henry, Esq.
**Pierpoint, Francis, Esq.*
Rawson, Nehemiah, Gent.
*Rossiter, Edward, Esq. (the Col.)
Rossiter, Thomas, Esq. (*f.*)
Samuel, Arthur, Esq. (*f.*)
Savile, Thomas, Esq.
*Savile, William, Esq.
Sheffield, John, Esq.
Skipworth, Edward, Esq.
Tharrald, Nathaniel, Gent.
*Thompson, William, Gent.
Tilson, Edmund, Esq.
*Trollop, James, Gent.
Trollop, Sir Thomas, Bart.
*Walcott, Humphrey, Esq.
Watson, William, Ald. (*l.*)
Welby, Thomas, Gent.
*Welcome, Thomas, Esq.
Whitchcot, Edward, Esq.
Whitchcot, Sir Hamond, Kt.
Whiting, John, Gent. (*f.*)
Willesby, John, Esq.
Williamson, Richard, Esq. (*f.*)
Williamson, Thomas, Esq. (*f.*)
Willoughby, Hickman, Esq.
Willoughby, Lord Francis, of Parham
Wincopp,[2] John, Gent.
*Woolley, William, Esq.
Wrath, John, Esq.
Wray, Sir Christopher, Kt.
Wray, Sir John, Bart.
Wray, John, Esq.

NORFOLK

Norfolk Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 18th April), p. 19, p. 38;—7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 1st June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 171, p. 194, p. 9 Appendix, p. 328;—Association specially, 10th August, p. 283. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War; 15th February 1644-5, p. 605.

The (*f.*) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of 10th August, the then *new* ones of whom are in italics; (*n.*) means, For Norwich.

*Ashley, Sir Edward, Kt.
*Ashley, Sir Isaac, Kt.
Bailiffs of Yarmouth.
Bainham, Robert, Esq. (*f.*)
Baker, Thomas, Esq. (*n.*)
Barkham, Sir Edward, Bart.
Barret, Christopher, Esq. (*n.*)
Barret, Thomas, Sheriff, (*n. f.*)

[1] Spelt also *Massingbeard*, *Massingberde*, *Massingburgh*, *Massinbred*, and *Massinberg*.
[2] Spelt also *Wincock* and *Wincocks*.

Beddingfield, Philip, Esq.
Berkham, John
Berney,[1] Sir Richard, Bart.
Blofield, Jeremy, of Alby.
*Brewster, John, Esq.
Brewster, Samuel, Gent. (*n. f.*)
Brown, John, of Sparks
**Burnam, Edmund, Ald.* (*n.*)
Buxton, John, Esq. (*f.*)
Calthorp, James, Esq.
Calthorp, Philip, Esq.
Chamberlain, Edward, Esq. (*f.*)
Church, Bernard, Sheriff (*n. f.*)
Clarke, of Gaywood.
Collier, John, Gent. (*n. f.*)
Collyns, of Blackborne Abbey
Coney, William
*Cooke,[2] John, Esq.
*Cooke, William, Esq.
Corbet, Miles, Esq.
Dagly, Robert, of Alsham
Day, Sucklin
Doylie, Sir William, Kt. (*f.*)
Earl, Erasmus, Esq. (*f.*)
Felsham, Robert, of Sculthrop
Fountain, Briggs, Esq.
Fryer,[3] Tobias, Esq.
Gasley, William, of Holcan
Gawdy, Edward, Esq. (*f.*)
Gawdy, Framlingham, Esq. (*f.*)
*Gawdy, Sir Thomas, Kt.
*Gawsell,[4] Gregory, Esq.
Gibbon,[5] John, Esq.
Gibbon,[5] Sir Thomas, Kt.
Gooch, Robert, of Elham
Gower, Robert, of Yarmouth, Gent. (*f.*)
**Greenwood, John, Sheriff* (*n.*)
Grey, James de, Esq. (*f.*)
Grey, John, Gent. (*n. f.*)
Harman, Richard, Esq.
Harvye, Richard
Heveningham, William, Esq.
Heyward, Edward, Esq. (*f.*)
*Hobart, Sir John, Bart.
*Hobart, Sir Miles, Kt.
Holland, Sir John, Bart.
Houghton, John, Esq.
Houghton, Robert, Esq. (*f.*)
*Huggen,[6] Sir Thomas, Kt.
Hunt, George, Esq. (*f.*)
Jaye, John, of Ersham
*Jermy, Francis, Esq.
Jermy, Robert, Esq.
Johnson, Thomas, Gent.
Ket, Robert, of Wicklewood
Kettle, Henry, of Thetford (*f.*)
King, Henry, Gent.
Lincoln, Thomas, of Thetford, Esq. Ald.
*Lindsey, Matthew, Ald. (*n.*)
Long, Robert, Esq. (*f.*)
May, John, of Lynn, Ald. (*f.*)
Mayor of Lynn for the time being
Mayor of Norwich for the time being (*n.*)
Money, Samuel, of Binnam
Mountford, Sir Edmund, Kt.
Owner, Edward, Esq. (*f.*)
*Palgrave, Sir John, Bart.
Parkes,[7] Samuel, Gent.
*Parmenter, Adrian, Esq. (*n.*)
Paston, Sir William, Bart. (*f.*)
*Peckoner,[8] Matthew, Ald. (*n.*)
Pell, Sir Valentine, Kt. Vicecomes (*f.*)
Percivall, John, Esq. of Lynn.
Pots, Sir John, Bart.

[1] Spelt also *Berne*, *Bernay*, and *Barney*.
[2] Spelt also *Crook* and *Coke*.
[3] Spelt also *Frere*, *Friar*, and *Fryar*.
[4] Spelt also *Causell*, *Gousall*, and *Gausey*.
[5] Spelt also *Guibon*.
[6] Spelt also *Hogan*, *Hoogan*, *Hoggin*.
[7] Spelt also *Parks*, *Parker*, *Paokle*.
[8] Spelt also *Peckover* and *Peckford*.

Raymes,[1] John, Esq. of Oxtron
Rich, Robert, Esq.
Rower, Robert, Gent.
*Russell, Thomas, Esq.
Salter, John, Gent. (*n. f.*)
Scamler, Adam, Esq. (*f.*)
Scamler, James, Esq.
Scottow, Timothy, Gent. (*n. f.*)
*Sedley,[2] Martin, Esq.
Sheppard, Robert, Esq.
Sheriffs of Norwich
Sherwood, Livewell, Ald. (*n.*)
Shouldham, Francis, of Fulmerston
Skippon, Philip, Esq. (*f.*)
*Smith, Samuel, Esq.
*Sotherton, Thomas, Esq.
*Spelman, John, Esq.
Springall, Thomas, of St. Mary's.
Steward, —, Esq. (*n. f.*)
Swalter, John, of Southcreak
*Symonds, William, of Norwich, Ald. (*n.*)
Taylor, Henry, Esq. (*f.*)
*Thacker, John, Ald. (*n.*)
Thorisby, Edmund, Esq. (*f.*)
Tofts, John, Gent. (*n. f.*)
Tofts, Thomas, Ald. (*n. f.*)
Toll, Thomas, Esq.
*Tooley, John, Esq. (*n.*)
Townsend, Roger, Esq. (*f.*)
Utber, Thomas
Vincent, John, of Crinisham
Walpool, John, Esq.
Walter, of Deram.
Ward, Hamon, Esq. (*f.*)
Warner, Richard, of Little Brand
Wasted, Thomas, Gent. (*n. f.*)
*Watts, Henry, Ald. (*n.*)
Web, John, Esq. (*f.*)
Weld, Thomas, Esq.
*Wilton,[3] Robert, Esq.
Windham, Sir George, Kt. (*f.*)
*Windham, Thomas, Esq.
With, of Brodish
*Wood, Robert, Esq.
Woodhouse, Sir Thomas, Bart.
* *Wright,[4] Thomas, Esq.*

SUFFOLK

Suffolk Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 29tn September), p. 19, p. 321;—7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 1st June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 172, p. 193, p. 10 Appendix, p. 328:—Association specially, 10th August, p. 284. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February 1644-5, p. 605.

The (*f.*) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of the 10th August; (*i.*) means, For Ipswich; (*e.*) Bury St. Edmunds; (*a.*) Aldborough.

Aldermen of Bury St. Edmunds (*e.*)
Aldus, John, Gent. (*i.*)
*Appleton, Issac, Esq.
Bacon, Sir Butts, Bart.
*Bacon, Sir Edmund, Bart.
*Bacon, Francis, Esq.
*Bacon, Nathaniel, of Freeston, Esq.
*Bacon, Nathaniel, of Ipswich, Esq.
Bacon, Nicholas, Esq.
Bacon, Thomas, Esq. (*f.*)
Bailiffs of Aldborough (*a.*)
Bailiffs of Ipswich (*i.*)
*Baker, Thomas, Esq.
Barnardiston, Sir Nathaniel, Kt.
*Barnardiston, Sir Thomas, Kt.

[1] Spelt also *Reygnes*, *Keyves*, *Reimes* and *Regin*.
[2] Spelt also *Sidley* and *Redley*.
[3] Spelt also *Wilson*.
[4] Spelt also *Weight*.

*Barrow, Maurice, Esq.
Basse,[1] John, Esq.
Bence, Alexander, Esq. (*f.*)
Bence, Squire, Esq.
Blosse, Thomas, Esq. (*f.*)
*Bloyse, William, Esq.
Bokenham, Wiseman, Esq.
Brandling, John (*i.*)
Brewster, Francis, Esq.
*Brewster,[2] Robert, Esq.
Bright, —, Gent. (*e.*)
Brook, Sir Robert, Kt.
Brooke, John, Esq. (*f.*)
Cage,[3] William, Esq.
Chaplin, Thomas, Gent. (*e.*)
Chapman, Thomas, Esq. (*e.*)
Cheney, Henry (*a. f.*)
Clinch, John, sen. Esq.
Clinch, John, of Culpho, Esq.
*Cole, Thomas, Esq.
Cotton, John, Esq. (*f.*)
D'Ewes, Sir Simond, Bart. (*f.*)
Duke, Sir Edward, Kt.
Duncombe,[4] Robert, Gent. (*i.*)
Fisher, Peter (*i.*)
Gale, Jacob, Gent. (*i.*)
Gibbs, Thomas, Ald. (*e.*)
Gurdon, Brampton, Esq.
Gurdon, Brampton, jun. Esq.
Gurdon, John, Esq.
*Harvey, Edmund, Esq.
Heveningham, William, Esq.
*Hobart, James, Esq.
Hodges, John, Esq. (*f.*)
Johnson,[5] Thomas, Gent. (*a.*)
*Lawrence, William, Esq.
*Lucas, Gibson, Esq.
Moody, Samuel (*e.*)
North, Henry, sen. Esq.
North, Henry, jun. Esq.
North, Sir Roger, Kt.
Parker, Sir Philip, Kt.
Parker, Sir William, Kt.
Pemberton, Joseph, Gent. (*i.*)
Pepys, Richard, Esq.
Playters, Sir William, Bart.
Puplet,[6] Richard, Gent. (*i.*)
Read, Edward, Esq.
Reynolds, Robert, Esq.
River,[7] William, of Bilson, Esq.
Rous, Sir John, Kt.
Sicklemer, John, Gent. (*i.*)
*Soame, Sir William, Kt.
*Spring, Sir William, Bart.
*Terrell,[8] Thomas, Esq.
*Vaughan, Theophilus, of Beccles, Esq.
Wentworth, Sir John, Kt.

[1] Spelt also *Bates*, *Base*, and *Bace*.
[2] Spelt also *Brechoster*.
[3] Spelt also *Gage*.
[4] Spelt also *Duncam* and *Duncon*.
[5] Spelt also *Jackson*.
[6] Spelt also *Pupler*, *Purplet*, *Pulpit*.
[7] Spelt also *Rivet* and *Ryvet*.
[8] Spelt also *Tirrill*.

END OF VOL. III.

Edinburgh: Printed by T. and A. Constable.

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